

L E T T E R

FROM

MAHOMMED ALI CHAN,
NABOB OF ARCOT,

TO THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED

A STATE of FACTS relative to TANJORE.

WITH

An APPENDIX of ORIGINAL PAPERS.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

MDCCLXXVII.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THOUGH the following Letter, from the Nabob of Arcot to the Court of Directors, contains a full state of the grievances of that much-injured Prince, with respect to Tanjore, it was thought necessary to take a more extensive view of the subject, for the information of such as are not completely acquainted with the affairs of the East. A STATE OF FACTS is, accordingly, annexed to the letter, explaining, from incontrovertible authorities, the undoubted right of the Nabob to the exclusive possession of the province of Tanjore. Several Original Papers transmitted to Europe by himself, are printed in an Appendix. Such other facts as are contained in the STATE, are authenticated by references at the bottom of the pages.

As the Nabob of Arcot is best known, in this country, by his original name, Mahommed Ali Chan, that name is retained on the title-page. According to the custom of the East, he has been dignified with very high titles by the Mogul Emperor, SHAH ALLUM, who, by a Firman, dated in the year 1765, not only rendered him independent of the Nizam, or Viceroy of the Decan, but even of the crown of Delhi. The most remarkable

able of his titles are the following : *Nabob Wallah-Jah, Emir-ul-Hind, Omhdât-ul-Muluch, Suraja-ul-Dowla, Anwar-ul-dien Chan, Munfour Jung, Sepa Sallâr, SOUBADAR of the CAR-NATIC.*

LETTER

LETTER from his Highness MAHOMMED ALI
CAWN, Soubadâr of the CARNATIC.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United
Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.*

HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN,

I Was happy in the receipt of your letter of the 12th April, delivered to me by Lord Pigot; I acknowledged the receipt thereof by my letter of the 14th December last, forwarded by his Lordship in the Salisbury Indiaman; but deferring my answer to the next opportunity, I now trouble you, my friends, with that answer, explaining in some measure my situation. You write me, That when you observed that your servants refused to listen to the supplications of the Rajah, when he was solicitous to be restored to my favour through their mediation, that indeed you express yourselves at a loss to conceive what motives could induce them to decline the office of mediator between me and the Rajah, at a time when their friendly interposition might have prevented the horrors of war; and more especially, as they were compelled by solemn stipulation to guarantee the Treaty of 1762. That as Lord Pigot was perfectly acquainted with your sentiments respecting the proceedings of your servants, and instructed by you to restore good government, and introduce a regular system for the management of your affairs in general, you would not at this time trouble me with further remarks thereon. That you are convinced,

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vinced, that all possible attention will be given by his Lordship and Council to my interest and the Company's, and consequently to the welfare of the Carnatic; and that you rest satisfied, that I will cordially unite with your servants, and readily concur in every measure which shall be adopted towards the completion of these just and honourable purposes.

Lord Pigot sent me in writing an extract of the order you gave him relative to Tanjore.

From the commencement of my connection with the Company, my business has been transacted with the Governor and Council; and I have regarded their words and writing as yours, and they have corresponded with me under the Company's seal; and they have written to me in their letter of the 24th May 1775, that they are representatives of the nation.

Though your two late Governors and Council, by your positive orders, gave me their assistance fully in regard to Tanjore for several years past, yet your present Governor has brought a fresh order lately from you, entirely contrary to the former ones. This perplexes me; how am I to depend on the assurances of your representatives? I am the first friend to the English nation and the Company, and I have spent the best part of my days in their friendship. In all times of prosperity and adversity, and in the battles with the Company's enemies, I have been joined with the English nation, and I did not hesitate in offering my life and fortune, and in sacrificing my sons and friends, in their service; and I have always used my best endeavours to add to the honour, prosperity, and advantage of the Company. I hold the friendship of the Company in such esteem, and place my dependence so strongly on it, that I never think any thing too dear or too good for the support of it. During my long attachment to the Company, our interests have been so closely united, that what prejudiced the one must prejudice the other. All the power by which the former Subahdars of the Carnatic punished their enemies, Jemadars, Polygars,

lygars, and the rebellious inhabitants and disturbers, and reduced them to obedience, is supplied to me by the friendship and assistance of the Company and the English nation; for they have firmly promised to assist me in preserving tranquillity in my country, and to regard my enemies as their own. I entirely depend upon this, and am therefore entitled to explain it to you, who are my assistants and friendly protectors, as well as any matters which are prejudicial to my government, honour, and the tranquillity of my country; therefore I hope you will, through your justice and candour, take such measures as may secure my honour, and restrain my enemies, for I am your friend and invariable well-wisher, and I regard your friendship and favour as the treasure of my life.—You, Gentlemen, are good judges of business in your part of the world, but you cannot have so thorough an acquaintance with matters here as I have; therefore it is necessary for me to give you my opinion of the measures which appear most proper to be pursued for the peace and tranquillity of the Carnatic, and to repress our mutual enemies, which I know to be your wish. In my letter of the 17th July 1762, I wrote to your Governor and Council a state of affairs, from the time that the ancestors of Tuljagee rebelliously possessed themselves of the Tanjore country. A copy of that letter I inclose for your perusal. During the Subahdarry of Zulphûkar Cawn Subahdar of the Carnatic, Tuljagee's ancestors have given him an obligation in writing for the payment of thirty lack of rupees yearly, and for remaining under his command as his servants, the country was again put under their management. During the Subahdarry of Davourd Cawn and Satullah Cawn, they preserved their obedience, and besides such tribute as was demanded of them, they gave frequent presents and large sums of money. During the Subahdarry of Aly Doast Cawn, the Zemindars of Trichinopoly and Tanjore became a little disobedient, and he sent his son Subter Aly Cawn to reduce them, possessed himself of their countries, and appointed Meer Afud ulla Cawn his deputy in the Tanjore

province, and Shaik Lutfullah Cawn to the command of the fort, and allowed a small pension to Pretaub Sing, the father of Tuljagee. As Aly Doast Cawn and Subter Aly Cawn were slain, Shaik Lutfullah delivered up the possession of the fort to Pretaub Sing, whereby the Tanjore country remained no longer in the management of the Subahdar of the Carnatic. In some time after, the deceased Nizam ul Mulk marched from the Decan at the head of a large army, and sent a detachment under the command of Coja Abdullah Cawn to take Tanjore; but the Vaqueels of Pretaub Sing met him, and agreed to pay a tribute of fifty lack of rupees. My deceased father, during his Subahdarry, was often under the necessity of punishing him, and he obliged him to pay sums of money, and took into his possession Combeconcern, and other countries, and appointed his servant Meer Murtaza Cawn Hamildar there. All this I have faithfully related to you, whereby you will understand the manner in which the ancestors of Tuljagee got an establishment in Tanjore, and the dependence in which they possessed it, under the Subahdars of the Carnatic. When I became Subahdar of the Carnatic, Pretaub Sing was obedient to me, and under my command, and his troops were employed in my service. Seeing that the gentlemen of the Company, and the English nation, are my firm friends and assistants, I thought that my taking tribute from the Zemindar of Tanjore would have been greater than that of former Subahdars; but during the war of the French and others, he seized the opportunities of freeing himself from the payment of any tribute, and enjoyed himself at his ease. Seeing that my country was destroyed, and the expence of supporting the war with the French and others fell upon me, he should have contributed his share, as he had done in the time of former Subahdars. After the reduction of Pondicherry, the tribute was settled in the year 1762; but I had it not in my power to oblige him to pay the extraordinary aids, as former Subahdars had done. I was of opinion that this arrangement would have prevented Pretaub Sing from promoting disturbances, and would

have determined him in obedience to me; but contrary to this, he applied to Isouf Cawn to assist him in destroying the tranquillity of the Carnatic, and when Isouf Cawn became a rebel, he assisted him, by sending him troops, with a number of Frenchmen who were in his service, and by giving him advice, and every other encouragement. After Madura was taken, and Isouff Cawn killed, Pretaub Sing's letters to him came into my hands, of which I informed your Governor and Council, in my letter of the 30th October 1764, a copy of which I inclose for your perusal.

After the death of Pretaub Sing, Tuljagee of his own accord became his successor, and contrary to the rules and customs of this country, he neglected asking my permission to the succession, nor did he do homage to me as was his duty. The gentlemen of the Company know very well, that when any Zemindar in Bengal and Bahar, or in Chicacole, Rajahmundry, and other countries, dies, his son cannot succeed him without the Company's permission. Upon this subject, I beg leave to recal to the memory of my friends, the instance of the Rajah of Banaras, a more powerful Zemindar than Tuljagee is on me; on the death of the late Bulwan Sing, his son Chieftsing did not enjoy the Zemindary, till he had obtained the confirmation of it from Sujah ul Dowlah, for which he paid a large sum of money to that Nabob, and agreed to increase his annual tribute to him. Of all this you have been informed by the letters of your servants. Sujah ul Dowlah was not like me or my father, the antient friend of the Company, but an enemy who had been a few years before in arms against them. Therefore, according to the custom of this country, of which I have given an example, Tuljagee was not entitled to the succession without my confirmation, nor yet to the protection of the guarantee, which was only for his father.

When Hyder Aly Cawn invaded the Carnatic, the Governor and Council and I repeatedly wrote to Tuljagee to send his troops to join ours, but he paid not the least attention. A copy of one of the Governor's letters is inclosed. He shewed no honor to Mr. Ardley, Second in Council at Fort St. George, and Sied Muchdoom Aly Cawn, who
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were jointly deputed to him to require his assistance; and in the beginning of the war with Hyder, he sent only a few of his troops to join Colonel Wood; and though the Colonel repeatedly wrote to him to send money for the support of his troops, he did not send any; therefore the Colonel was obliged to supply them out of his own pocket, and when he had no more money to supply them with, they left him. Tuljagee yet owes the money that the Colonel advanced to his troops. Besides all this, he sent his Vacqueel to Hyder, and formed a connection with him, and gave him great assistance, by sending him money, elephants, horses, dresses, jewels, provisions, &c. which enabled him to ravage the Carnatic at his pleasure. He advanced even near Fort St. George, and concluded a treaty with authority. I have inclosed you copies of Tuljagee's letters to Hyder Aly Cawn, in regard to sending him money and other supplies, and Hyder's answers, advising him not to pay tribute to me, and offering to support him.

After Hyder's war was at an end in this country, Tuljagee depending on his assistance, refused to pay the tribute, and gave no attention to your representatives letters, and mine on that subject; but contrary to all rules of submission, marched his army against the Marwar, and other countries who are my tributaries, and dependent upon Trichinopoly, and though the Governor and Council and I forbid him this proceeding, he was too proud and haughty to mind us, but took forcibly from those countries their money, jewels, and elephants, and then returned to Tanjore: although the Governor and Council and I wrote to him to restore the things taken from the Marwar countries, and to submit to me, and pay my tribute; it had no effect, but he prepared for war. Governor Dupré, who went to Pretaub Sing at Tanjore, in the year 1762, to settle the guarantee, was, in his government, sensible of that bad conduct of the Rajah; and according to the advice of Mr. Hastings (who was at that time Second in Council at Fort St. George), and in whom you now place your confidence, and have appointed Governor General,

General to all your settlements in Hindostan ; and other Counsellors, who were also sensible of his bad conduct, and of my rights, thought proper to assist me in punishing him, and for that purpose, employed the Company's troops, under the command of General Smith, in the year 1771, according to your orders, contained in your letter of the 17th March 1769, to Governor Dupré. The paragraph is word for word as follows : " It appears most unreasonable to us, that the Rajah of Tanjore should hold possession of the most fruitful part of the country, which can alone supply our armies with subsistence, and not contribute to the defence of the Carnatic. We observe the Nabob makes very earnest representations to you on this subject in his letter, entered in the book of Country Correspondence, wherein he takes notice, that the Zemindars of the Carnatic have been supported, and their country preserved to them, by the operations of our forces employed in this cause ; and that nothing was more notorious, than that three former princes of the Carnatic had received from the Tanjore Rajah, 70, 80, nay even 100 lacks of rupees at a time ; that to the preceding Nizam, he had paid a contribution of fifty lacks, and the present, if he had met with success against our army, would not have been content with less than a crore of rupees from this Rajah. How just then does it appear that he should be made to pay some part of the expence of these measures, to which he owes his security, and the peace of this country ? We therefore enjoin you to give the Nabob such support in his pretensions on the Rajah of Tanjore as may be effectual ; and if the Rajah refuses to contribute a just proportion to the expence of the war, *you are then to pursue such measures as the Nabob may think consistent with the justice and dignity of his government.*"

Before the troops marched from Madrafs or from Trichinopoly, we sent admonitions to Tuljagee, recommending it to him, to submit to me and discharge the tribute ; but he was too proud to attend to them, and sent harsh and disrespectful answers, and treated disrespectfully Sied Muchdoom Aly Cawn my ambassador,

ambassador, and ordered him out of his presence ; and before General Smith, and my son Omdaht-ul-Omrah Bahawder marched from Tritchinopoly, he took the field with his troops, and prepared for battle, and opposed our army at the distance of three or four cofs from Tanjore, and several times cut off their provisions. After the defeat of these troops, and the siege of the fort was carrying on, where many of the Company's troops and mine were killed, Tuljagee repented, and sent messages offering to discharge the tribute due, and to pay it in future, as was customary to former Subahdars, as also the expence of our army on the expedition. He likewise made over some districts belonging to his country till these sums should be discharged. It was my intention only to take tribute from him, and that he should submit to me, that my country might enjoy tranquillity ; and after he had entered into a solemn engagement in writing to that effect, I sent orders to the army to raise the siege.

On the 17th Rajiel 1185, Hegira, or 26th October 1771, peace was concluded, and the Company's troops and mine returned to Tritchinopoly. Tuljagee soon broke his agreement, and prevailed on Trimuckrow, a Maratta chief (who was at that time with forty thousand horse in Hyder-Aly Cawn's country), by offering him large sums of money, to assist him with twenty thousand horse. Trimuckrow accordingly crossed the Gauts on the 25th Showall 1185, Hegira, or 3d December 1771, and his troops plundered my country, as far as Callespauk, which is but fourteen cofs from Arcot. I persuaded Trimuckrow to retire, having sent Sied Assum Cawn Bahawder my ambassador to him, with large sums of money, jewels, elephants, &c.

When Tuljagee found he had nothing further to expect from Trimuckrow, he sent Pandarum to Poonah to raise troops for him, and to bring him assistance from the Maharattas. My agent wrote me from thence, that Pandarum had entertained ten thousand horse, and that the managers at Poonah had engaged to furnish ten thousand more for hire, and that the twenty thousand were preparing to march into the Carnatic,

natic, to destroy it; Mr. Thomas Mostyn, who was then resident at Poona from the government of Bombay, wrote this account to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George. Tuljagee also applied for assistance to Hyder-Aly Cawn, and without either my knowledge, or that of your representatives, sold some districts of his country to the Dutch, on condition that they would assist him; and agreed to make over to them the Subah of Manaurgoody, for the payment of such troops as they should furnish him with. This will appear from the letter of the Governor General at Batavia to me, of the 26th July 1771. Tuljagee mortgaged to the Danes some other districts, and sold to the French others near Caracoil, with a view of obtaining their assistance. He sent a Resident to Pondichery, and shewed great favour to the Governor of that place.

His view in soliciting all this assistance, and in assembling troops, was to get possession of the whole Carnatic, and to raise such disturbances as my friends and I would find very difficult to suppress. All these proceedings, and your letter of the 17th March 1769, determined the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, in order to preserve the tranquillity of the Carnatic, and the rights of my Government, to give me assistance in taking the fort and country of Tanjore from Tuljagee. He, in hopes of succours from our enemies, for the Dutch had then landed a thousand Europeans, and three thousand Malays and Sepoys at Negapatam, delayed acknowledging obedience to me, or entering into a negotiation with General Smith, and Ameer-ul Omrah Behawder, my second son, till the day of the storm. We at last carried the fort, by which the interior disturbances of the Carnatic, mentioned by you in your letter of the 4th March 1767, are at an end; this you would seem much to wish for. Tuljagee has ever since lived in his palace in proper honour and dignity, and all his family are continued with him as formerly, and there is no alteration in his or his family's table. All his friends, Mootasaddies, Bramins, Facqueers, Pagodas, Choultries, &c. are kept up as during his Government.

From this representation, every circumstance of which is founded upon truth, my best friends will see, that there was the greatest necessity for reducing the power of Tuljagee, and that what has been done, has been done with justice, and for the good of the Company, and the Carnatic.

It is five years since Governor Du Pré gave positive orders to take the fort of Tanjore, and employed the Company's troops for that purpose; and it is near three years that Tanjore has been taken, as has been known to the Company at home; but they have been silent on that subject.

I have paid large sums of money to the Europeans of other nations, which they demanded from Tuljagee for the release of some districts, which he had sold to them, as I have already related; besides, I paid considerable sums of money, which he owed to individuals and to his army, as also the expence of the Company's army and mine; and I have prevented the Marattas from coming into this country, by buying them off with a large sum of money. I have borrowed considerable sums from English gentlemen, who lent them to promote the capture of Tanjore; I have besides borrowed from the people of the country large sums of money, which I expended in improving it, in repairing the water-courses, the mounds, and the fortifications, which last was done by Major Stephens a Company's engineer. I have made great advances to the inhabitants towards buying bullocks and feed grain; and I have borrowed paddy seed from the country people, &c. and given it to the inhabitants, which has made the Tanjore country flourish more than in Tuljagee's time. I have consented to paying three additional battalions of Seapoys, out of the revenues of the Tanjore country only. I have paid considerable prize-money to the army for their trouble and fatigue, and other expences for provisions, &c. and for the Zemindars and Colliers, who came to my assistance in great numbers. It would be very tedious to write all the expences attending these

these two expeditions. The money due to those who lent it to promote the capture of Tanjore country, depending upon my honour, lies upon me, and my money depends on the revenues of that country.

It is well known to every one, that Tanjore has belonged to the Carnatic Pawyen Ghaut from the beginning, and that I am, by the blessing of God, lawful owner of that country: It was only by the favour and assistance of you, Gentlemen; that I got possession of my rights, and I am thankful to you day and night. This business was carried into execution pursuant to your orders, and the approbation of your representatives, and the ministers of the King of Great Britain, which was in fact the approbation of the whole nation. At the end of five years, you, Gentlemen, have given orders to Lord Pigot, that I should return the fort and country of Tanjore to Tuljagee. This has given me great affliction, and I am convinced that had you received a full account of this affair, and a just representation of my right from the Governor and Council, you would not have given such orders to your servants. Though Lord Pigot has brought your order so great a distance, mentioning, that if any civil or military servant should obstruct the execution of this order, or refuse to give his assistance in it, his Lordship should dismiss such person your service; yet people to whose integrity and justice the whole world can bear witness, say, that right is on my side, and even his Lordship in negotiating this business seems sensible of my right, but says he has got positive orders in his hands, and cannot avoid obeying them. His Lordship also says, that you were assured that Tuljagee was in the fort of Trichinopoly, and had therefore given him orders, that he should on his arrival appoint a guard for the security of his person. I asked his Lordship what account he had received here, and he told me, that he had heard that Tuljagee was at Tanjore. I then desired his Lordship to observe, from this and many other matters, how differently circumstances appeared here and in England. His Lordship agreed to this observation: Had you, Gentlemen, given orders to his Lord-

ship to decide according to justice, after he had thoroughly informed himself of the true state of affairs, things would not have been carried on as they are at present.

From the first establishment of the Carnatic, Tanjore has been dependent upon it, and the Zemindar of that place has been always subject to the Subahdar of the Carnatic. Perceiving the enmity of Tuljagee, I took possession of my right at a great expence, and through the favour of my friends. This right my friends now mention in their order, to be but four lack of rupees yearly, and they have determined to reinstate the enemy of the Carnatic, and re-establish the government of Tanjore, under firm conditions which tend to the advantage of the Company. Is it just or right, that they should intend to make conditions, and gain advantage from my subject in his present weak state? If the Company have their own advantage in view, they should expect it from their old friends. It would answer their interest, and establish their reputation with the whole world, as they would not infringe the rights of their friends, and might, notwithstanding, attend to their own advantage. I am astonished that you should wish to put this order in execution, for it will not only destroy my rights, but be hurtful to the honour and interests of me, and my family, as also to the honour, justice, and interests of the Company, and the English nation, and will be prejudicial to the tranquillity of the Carnatic for ever.

His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, has been graciously pleased to write me a letter of congratulation, wherein he mentions that my troops, and the troops of the Company, have been successful against my subject the Zemindar of Tanjore.—This letter was read by his Majesty's Plenipotentiary, publicly, in my Durbar, in the presence of all my people, and the Vaqueels of the neighbouring Powers; and the King of Delhi, and other Kings, and all the Powers of Hindostan, and the Europeans also, being convinced of my rights, wrote me letters of congratulation. By this change in affairs, your justice will appear in an unfavourable light, and my rights will be greatly infringed. I hope, through

through your friendship and assistance, to increase my honour and authority—you have always increased them; I therefore trust, that you will so act that my character and consequence may not be lessened in the eyes of other Powers; and that you will do justice to your old friend, who has spent his youth in your friendship, and whose chief desire of power is, to testify his regard to you. He now waits in expectation of your justice.

You mention in your orders, that you are guarantees to the Treaty of 1762. That Treaty, so guarantee'd, was with Pretaub Sing only. Even Pretaub Sing, by his bad conduct (as appears by a letter of his in my possession), as I have before mentioned, did not merit the protection of the said guarantee. You may besides consider, if (supposing Tuljagee guarantee'd in 1762 as well as his father) he did not lose all right to such guarantee by his bad conduct, since he destroyed the guarantee by drawing his sword. I too have been guarantee'd in my rights, as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, by the whole English nation. This I owed to your favour. By guarantee, I have always understood, a protection to a friend in his rights; *and not a protection to an enemy against a friend.*

I cannot conclude this letter, without requesting that you will depend upon what I say, for I open my heart to you in the greatest sincerity. It has been my wish and desire from the commencement of my government, that there should be no other power in the country except yours and mine; in consequence of which, with great trouble and expence, I released the countries which Tuljagee had sold to the Dutch; and the disturbances of the Tanjore country, which lies in the heart of my dominion, are (through your favour) at an end. There was no other road, by which an enemy could enter the Carnatic, but the Tanjore country; your now re-inflating Tuljagee, is just the same as establishing the French in this country; because, when they bring their forces here, and intend hostilities, Tuljagee will provide them with bullocks, cooleys, provisions, &c. which will much add to their
 * strength

strength. Your giving the revenues of the Tanjore country into the hands of Tuljagée, is just furnishing provisions, cooleys, &c. to the French, Hyder, and the Marattas in their disturbances; should it remain in my hands, you will be able to drive any enemy out of this country; and it will be in my power to confine them in getting provisions, cooleys, &c. from any part.

You will, Gentlemen, remember, that I now foretel what is to happen. Though by the promises of your representatives, I was not to have a Company's garrison in the fort of Tanjore, yet as I have been from the beginning your firm friend, and under obligations to you, and as our friendship has been established by the loss of my father's life, by the loss of our fortune and effects, saved in a series of years, and by spending my youth in your alliance; and further, as it is my utmost wish that your favour and assistance should be in the same manner continued to my posterity, I have written to Lord Pigot of the 22d January last, and 3d instant; and in the letter, inclosed him an order to my representative at Tanjore to receive your garrison into the fort, in the same manner as at Trichinopoly, and enclose you copies thereof for your perusal. I have desired lord Pigot to be pleased to write to you what he finds here to contradict the reports that prevailed in England, and to represent my firm friendship to you. His Lordship has promised that he will do this, and also recommend me to you.—As I am always your invariable friend, I humbly beg that you will be pleased to send orders to your representatives, not to interfere in my management of the Tanjore country. This favour will establish me in my right, and I shall be eased from my heavy burden of debts. I am, and ever will be thankful for your favours.

You write me that you have heard that the distress of my creditors is very great; and that is said to be owing to their property being in my hands; and you mention this circumstance as the most powerful argument to induce me to make speedy pro-

visions for their payment; that you entertain no doubt of my honour in this respect, or that I will immediately attend to this subject. This I understand.

It is my first duty to discharge my debts to my creditors, who have lent their money depending upon my honour, and I am always taking measures for that purpose. Tuljagee, in the year 1771, promised to pay his arrears of tribute, and gave a bond for the amount, which I assigned to my creditors; but as he did not pay me, I was under the necessity of remaining in their debt. I am now obliged to you for your favour in reminding me of this affair, and by the blessing of God, these debts shall be soon cleared off.

What can I say more?

Given at Chepauck,
February 12th, 1776.

S T A T E of F A C T S

RELATIVE TO

T A N J O R E.

THE orders sent by the Court of Directors for restoring Tanjore to the displaced Zemindar of that province have drawn complaints from Mahommed Ali Chán, Nabob of Arcot, his feudal superior and lord. These complaints are stated in the preceding letter. The Nabob, as an ally of Great Britain, has demanded justice from the British nation, as well as from the East India Company; and the matter, it is hoped, will fall under discussion, and be brought to a speedy decision. When men are to determine on affairs of importance, it is necessary they should be well informed. The design, therefore, of the following concise state of facts, is to extricate the subject from the intricacies in which it has been involved, by a multiplicity of contradictory dispatches and partial representations.

Mahommed Ali Chán, the present sovereign of the Carnatic, derives his blood from a noble family, who made a considerable figure in the Western Tartary, long before the Moguls invaded and subdued India *. His immediate ancestor was an Omrah, in

* Manuscript history in the possession of the Nabob.

the court of Sultan Baber, the sixth in descent from Timur-bec, commonly known in Europe by the name of Tamerlane. Baber, having obtained a decisive victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, the Patan King of Delhi, mounted the throne, in the year 1526, and thus became the founder of the Mogul dynasty in India. The ancestors of the Nabob of Arcot distinguished themselves in the service, and were honoured with the favour of the succeeding princes of the Mogul line.

Anwar, the grandfather of the Nabob, distinguishing himself by his erudition and piety, was ennobled by the Emperor Aurengzebe; and, under his successor, became Duan of the province of Patna. In that station, he entered into the strictest friendship with the English, long before they had extended their views beyond commerce. The attachment of the father descended to the son, Anwar ul dien Chên; who successively held the governments of Cambay and Putlad, and the Subadary of Yalore and Rajamundrum.

Whilst the Mogul empire retained any vigour, a Governor-general, under the title of Nizam ul Muluck, commanded all the provinces in the Decan. Upon the death of Coja Abdullah, Nabob of Arcot or Carnatic, in the year 1744, Anwar ul dien was raised to the government by the Nizam. When M. de la Bourdonnais, in the year 1746, marched against Madras, he could neither by promises nor presents detach Anwar ul dien from the English cause. In the December of the same year, he sent his son, Mahommed Ali, now Nabob of the Carnatic, with a force to relieve Fort St. David, then threatened with a siege by the French. This service was so effectually performed, that the enemy fled with the loss of many men and a great part of their baggage. The zeal of Anwar ul dien for the English cause could only terminate with his life; for on the 23d of July 1749 he was slain in battle, bravely fighting for his allies and friends.

Though

Though the French failed in their attempts on the fidelity of Anwar ul dien Chân, they renewed their promises and threats to his son the present Nabob. The English were then shut up in their forts, and the enemy were in possession of the whole country; yet he nobly rejected the offer made him by the French, of the sovereignty of all the provinces, declaring in express terms, that " he would rather part with his life, than desert his father's " friends."

The attachment which he shewed in the war, continued, without diminution, in the succeeding peace. When the French renewed hostilities, Mahommed Ali exhibited again his zeal. He supported the whole *expences of the last war* on the coast of Coromandel, against the common enemy. His revenue paid, and the produce of his country fed, our armies. Without his aid, Madras must have fallen; and but for the money he* advanced for the expedition to Calcutta, Bengal would have been for ever lost. He voluntarily defrayed the expence of the siege of Pondicherry; and, in short, he exhibited, upon every occasion, an attachment to the English nation, which no European power ever experienced from the princes of Hindostan.

When the war ended, with the expulsion of the French from the coast, he loaded the East India Company with favours. He yielded to them a territory of the annual value of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; he gave them the preference in the purchase of the manufactures and merchandise of his country. Their friends were uniformly his friends; he made their enemies his own; he communicated with them in all his councils; he made them partners in his authority, his power, and his resources. His good offices were not confined to them as a public body. He showered wealth upon individuals with a lavish hand. None acted in a conspicuous station without tasting largely of his bounty; and

* This one article amounted, at the most moderate computation, to near 200,000*l*.

even some of his present enemies have acquired the power of oppressing him by means of his own generosity.

The Nabob's fidelity and zeal for the interests of Great Britain neither escaped the attention of the sovereign, nor the gratitude of the nation. When the last peace was concluded with France, he was styled in the eleventh article of the Treaty of Paris, lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and guarantee'd in all his rights and territories. He was the only power in Hindostan included in the Treaty; and, by being considered in the light of an ally, he trusts, he is intitled to the friendship of the King, and the full protection of the kingdom. To assure him of the certainty of both, his Majesty was graciously pleased to send an Envoy, with plenipotentiary powers, to the Carnatic; and, by thus recognizing his claims to all the rights of an ally, has in a manner pledged himself and the nation for the security of his possessions and the support of his authority.

This faithful friend and recognized ally of Great Britain, having succeeded his father in the Subadary of Arcot, became the feudal lord of Tanjore. A short history of that country, and the family of the deposed Raja, will explain this subject with some precision. The districts of Tanjore, Madura, and Trichinopoly, are said to have been possessed, for an uninterrupted series of eighty generations, by a race of independent princes, called the Chaoul and Paunder Rajas †. This family becoming extinct, the government fell into the hands of the Roials, who possessed it for sixteen generations. The Roials were princes of great power and extent of dominion. They possessed the sovereignty of the Decan; and it is recorded that they conferred the provinces of Tanjore, Madura, and Trichinopoly, together with the Zemindary of Seringapatnam, in the kingdom of Myfore, on some of their most faithful slaves ‡.

† Manuscript records of India, in the possession of the Nabob and other ancient families of the country.

‡ Ibid.

The power of the Roials fell with the southern provinces, when the Decan was conquered by the Patan Emperors of Delhi. The sovereignty of the Patan Governors of the Decan, survived the empire from which they had derived their authority. But they were afterwards reduced by the princes of the Mogul race. The conquest, however, was not effectually completed, till the reign of Aurungzebe. About the year 1680, is fixed the origin of the race of usurpers, whom some through design, and others from ignorance, call the KINGS of Tanjore. This high title was, for the first time, conferred upon them, in the Treaty of 1762. Before that period, they stood in no other light than Zemindars, holding of the Carnatic, and removeable by the Governor of that country, when they failed in the performance of their feudal duties.

Some years before the conquest of the Decan, a party of Maratto plunderers, under the command of one Eckogee, invaded the Carnatic, and fixed themselves at Gingee. The Zemindars of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, who were both descended from the slaves of the Roials, having submitted to the Moguls, were left in the management of their own provinces; and having quarrelled among themselves, had taken the field. The Zemindar of Tanjore, being hard pressed by him of Trichinopoly, solicited the aid of Eckogee. This perfidious Maratto plunderer, having repulsed the Zemindar of Trichinopoly, seized by treachery the government of Tanjore*; whilst the unfortunate Raja with difficulty saved his life, by flying to Seringapatnam. The grandson of the expelled Raja is still living at that place. The present Raja's family derive from Eckogee their claim to Tanjore; which they obtained by perfidy, and governed, for near eighty years, by cruelty, oppression, and injustice.

The Emperor Aurungzebe, hearing of the usurpation of Eckogee, dispatched Zulphukar Cawn, with a force, to recover Tanjore.

* This happened about the year 1681.

Eckogee, driven to the last extremity, implored the mercy of the Emperor; which was granted, on his engaging to pay a yearly tribute of THIRTY LACKS, and acknowledging entire submission to the Emperor, and, under him, to the Governor of the Carnatic †.

Upon the death of Eckogee, the country was divided among his three sons, Shawgee ‡, Shurfogee, and Tuckogee. The eldest died without issue. Tuckogee, the immediate ancestor of the present Zemindar, rebelled against his second brother; but both soon after dying, Baba Saheb, the son of Tuckogee, obtained the government. Baba Saheb did not long survive his elevation; and the management of Tanjore fell into the hands of Seid, who had been Killedar, or military Governor, in the time of the usurper Eckogee.

Seid being less ambitious than cruel, aspired not to the Rajaship, but to the exclusive possession of the influence of government. He invested the widow of Baba Saheb with the ensigns of authority; but she was soon deposed, and thrown into prison; and her favourite Sidogee, with his two brothers, impaled alive before the three gates of Tanjore. Seid raised a real or pretended NATURAL son of Shurfogee, and grandson to the usurper Eckogee, to the title of Zemindar; but this wretched figure soon fell a sacrifice to the rage or convenience of his maker. The NATURAL son of Tuckogee, Pertaub or Pretaupa Sing, was then called to the government by Seid; and the first exertion of his authority was, the assassination of the person to whom he owed his elevation §.

† Manuscript records of the Carnatic.

‡ He became Raja toward the end of the reign of the Emperor Aurengzebe. The troubles which succeeded the death of that great prince, by drawing the force of the Moguls to the heart of the empire, contributed to confirm the usurpation of the family of Eckogee in Tanjore.

§ Manuscript records of Tanjore, relative to this and the preceding paragraph. See also No. I. of the Appendix. Pretaupa Pretauba, or Pertaub Sing, obtained the Zemindary of Tanjore in 1741.

The usurpation, character, and cruelty of Pertaub Sing being universally execrated, the Nabob Ali Dooft Chên sent his son Sudder Ali from Trichinopoly, with a considerable force, to expel the usurper from Tanjore. His success was equal to his expectations. Tanjore was taken, and Pertaub thrown into prison, with an allowance of a small sum, for his daily maintenance. In the troubles, which soon after followed in the Carnatic, Ali Dooft and his son were slain; and Pertaub regained possession of Tanjore. Encouraged by this success, he refused obedience to the Subadary of the Carnatic. The late Nizam ul Muluck, Governor-General of the Decan, enraged at the presumption of this vassal of the empire, sent a detachment of his army, under Coja Abdulla Chên, whom he appointed Nabob of Arcot, to take Tanjore. Pertaub dreading the just punishment of his disobedience and crimes, made the most abject submission, and obtained pardon, for an annual tribute of FIFTY LACKS of rupees*.

The repeated attempts of Pertaub Sing to detach himself from the empire, his refusing to pay his tribute, and other acts of disobedience and rebellion, frequently drew upon him the resentment of Anwar ul Dien Chên, who, upon the death of Coja Abdulla, was made Nabob of the Carnatic by the Nizam, by virtue of the powers with which he was invested, as Viceroy of the Decan†.

During the late war between Great Britain and France, on the coast of Coromandel, when the present Nabob was so much weakened, that he could not enforce the obedience of his vassals and tributaries, Pertaub Sing withheld his feudal duties, as Zemindar of Tanjore; and absolutely refused to furnish his quota, for the defence of the country.

* Records of the Carnatic. Orme's History.

† By the 11th article of the treaty of Paris, Mahommed Ali Chên is declared lawful Nabob of Arcot; and by a Firmaun, in 1765, from the Emperor Sh. w Allum, the province of Arcot or the Carnatic was declared independent of the Nizam, or Viceroy of the Decan.

Notwithstanding this conduct, so hostile to the English, as well as to their faithful friend and strenuous ally, a treaty highly favourable to Pertaub Sing, and ruinous to the just rights of Mahommed Ali, was concluded, in the year 1762, when Mr. (now Lord) Pigot, was governor of Madras. The Raja's tribute, by this treaty, was reduced to four lacks; and the sum of twenty-two lacks was taken in place of all arrears; yet it is upon record, that Mr. Pigot himself gave assurances to aid the Nabob in recovering the former tribute. A debt of seven lacks of rupees, for which Pertaub had given his bond to the present Nabob's father, was declared to be canceled. The rebel, Tim Row, whom the Nabob, in concert with the Company, had found it necessary to dispossess of his country, was not only restored to liberty, but even to his Jagheer, to gratify Pertaub Sing. Governor Pigot guarantee'd this treaty, in the name of the Company; and undertook that the English, to the utmost of their power, should assist the fulfilling party, against the one failing to accomplish the terms.

The East famous for unaccountable treaties, can scarce produce one equally extraordinary with that of 1762. A tributary Zemindar†, who, in the time of public danger, refused to aid his superior and his allies, is placed by those very allies, on the same footing with his lord, their old, tried, and faithful friend. This friend, with unexampled perseverance, had gone hand in hand with the English, in a great and national war. His life was often in danger, his troops, on various occasions, cut to pieces, his country depopulated, his revenues exhausted, in fighting OUR

† Lord Pigot himself, after the conclusion of the last peace, in a circular letter to the different Killidars, Hamildars, and Polygars of the Carnatic, comprehends Pertaub Sing Raja, or rather Zemindar of Tanjore, among the *subjects of the Nabob*, who were to obey IMPLICITLY his Highness's orders. The letter is curious; and is therefore printed, No. II. of the Appendix. The same sentiments are contained, in a very polite and *humble* letter written by Mr. Pigot, bearing date, July 1st, 1760, to the Nabob's lady. This letter is also preserved, as a matter of curiosity, in No. II. of the Appendix.

battles. But, as his treasury was empty, he was no longer in a condition to *purchase* favours; a misfortune, which had not fallen on Pertaub Sing, as by *not* doing his duty, he had escaped the calamities of war.

Neither Pertaub Sing, nor his successor and son, Tuljagee, could entertain any feeling of gratitude, for the treaty of 1762. On the first occasion that offered itself, Pertaub exhibited marks of his rooted aversion to the English, as well as to the Nabob. He instigated Hous Cawn to rebel; he and his son aided their rebellion with their native troops; and they permitted a body of French to quit the service of Tanjore, to support the cause of Hous. These circumstances were proved, upon the taking of Madras, for the original letters of Pertaub Sing, and of his son Tuljagee fell into the hands of the Nabob, who laid them before the Governor and Council of Madras, in October 1764 †.

Upon the death of Pertaub Sing, his son Tuljagee, without asking the concurrence of his feudal superior, assumed the government. The principles and profligacy of the father, without his art and prudence, descended to the son. Upon every occasion, he manifested the most inveterate enmity to the English and the Nabob. When Hyder-Ali invaded the Carnatic, Tuljagee was repeatedly required to send his troops to join our forces and those of the Nabob. He paid no attention to these requisitions; on the contrary, he treated Mr. Ardley, a member of the Council ‡, sent to demand a body of his cavalry, with indignity and contempt. He entered into a close connection with Hyder-Ali. He gave him valuable presents, and he furnished him with provisions, which enabled him to carry the war to the gates of Ma-

† The correspondence between the Zemindars of Tanjore, and the rebel Hous Cawn, are printed, Appendix, No. III.

‡ Vid. Consultations of the Board at Madras, in the years 1768, and 1769; and general letters from the Secret Department, to the Court of Directors, during those years.

dras. All these are incontrovertible facts; for Tuljagee's correspondence with Hyder fell into the hands of the English ‡.

Hyder-Ali, in return for the aid given by Tuljagee, assisted that Zemindar with his counsels. He advised him to pay no tribute to the Nabob, no attention to the English, and promised to support him in his disobedience.

The advice of Hyder was not lost on the Zemindar of Tanjore. In the month of February 1771, his ally Tuljagee marched against the Zemindars of the Marawar country, who were the Nabob's tributary vassals *. Notwithstanding their remonstrances, and the threats of the Governor and Council of Madras, he committed the most savage cruelties, the most unprovoked depredations, in those countries. He laid siege to the capital; and after having levied heavy contributions (extorting from the Zemindar of Ramnadaporam his most valuable family jewels), he returned with the spoil to Tanjore. He even boasted publicly of injustice, and despised the menaces of the English, as well as of the Nabob. In vain did Governor Du Pré, in vain did Mahommed Ali, insist with him, to restore the plunder he had unjustly seized †. He laughed at their remonstrances; and, by way of answer, made preparations for war §.

A conduct so insolent, unjust, and hostile, must, in its very nature, have destroyed all the obligations of the pretended guarantee in 1762. As the Rajah had broken the terms of the treaty on his side, that treaty could not possibly exist in its force against the English and their ally the Nabob. Besides, the treaty subsisted between the latter and Pertaub Sing ONLY ††. There is not an expression, a word in the whole, which extends to the descendants

‡ Appendix, No. IV.

* Consultations, Feb. 11th, 1771.

† Consultations, Select Committee, 1771.

§ Consultations and country correspondence, for the year 1771, India House.

†† Vid. Original Treaty, India House.

of either party. It never entered into the mind of Pertaub himself, that the treaty could be considered as perpetual. From the very nature of the feudal system in India, from the express tenure by which the Zemindar holds of the Carnatic, the treaty must have ceased with the life of Pertaub; as the ELECTION of his son was eventual, and depended on the favour of the feudal superior.

But should it be granted, contrary to every idea of justice, and in opposition to truth itself, that the treaty extended to the son of Pertaub; must the English and the Nabob be precluded from enforcing the performance of a treaty, by which they themselves are bound? Or must they be bound, and the Raja be left at liberty to break the articles? Is the Nabob, in any one article of the guarantee of 1762, prohibited from removing this Zemindar, in case of his withholding his tribute, or otherwise failing in the performance of the duties imposed upon vassals, by the usage of the empire, and even by the treaty itself? Was not such the custom of former Subadars of the Carnatic? Shall Mahommed Ali forfeit any of his just rights, for his friendship to the Company, for his alliance with Great Britain? The thing is in itself impossible; though held forth in the arguments of men who have an interest in supporting the son of Pertaub Sing.

The cruelty of Tuljagee to his neighbours, his hostile intentions against the Company, his withholding his tribute from his superior, his secret intrigues with the avowed enemies of the Carnatic, at length roused the minds of the Governor and Council of Madras, with a sense of danger. He was repeatedly advised by them to abstain from injustice toward the English nation, and to be just to the requisitions of the Nabob. His answers were sometimes haughty, and often evasive. The Governor and Council found, at length, that they must transfer the contest from remonstrances, to the decision of arms. Instead of shewing any dispo-

tion to give satisfaction to the Nabob, Tuljagee began to levy forces, and to prepare for war. He even threatened the Carnatic with invasion. These alarming circumstances induced the Governor and Council to recur to the positive orders of the Court of Directors, relative to Tanjore. These orders bear date the 17th of March 1769. The Court, after dwelling on the unjustifiable conduct of the Raja, his duty to the Nabob, his obligations to the Company, mention the different treatment met with by Mahomed Ali's family, from former Zemindars. They conclude their observations with the following positive orders: "We therefore enjoin you to give the Nabob such support in his pretensions, on the Raja of Tanjore, as may be EFFECTUAL; and if the Raja refuses to contribute a just proportion to the expence of the war *, you are then to pursue such measures, as the Nabob may think consistent with the justice and dignity of his government."

The Board was unanimous in opinion †, that a war with the Raja was become indispensibly necessary. Orders were accordingly issued to General Smith, in September 1771, to march with the army to Tanjore, to reduce the capital, and to put the Nabob in possession of the country ‡. To the positive orders of the Company with regard to a war, upon the contingences already mentioned, the Governor and Council added the sanction, and even requisition of his Majesty's plenipotentiary in the Carnatic §. But notwithstanding the necessity of the thing itself, supported by such authorities, the Nabob, with his wonted humanity, endeavoured to prevent the war. In the month of September 1771, he sent Seid Mucktum Ali, a person of the first consequence in his service, to the Raja, with offers of accommodation. These

* The war with Hyder Ali, to which the Raja never contributed a single rupee.

† Vid. Consultations for the year 1771.

‡ Vid. Appendix, No. V.

§ Vid. Correspondence of Sir John Lindsay, in the India House.

offers he rejected with unparalleled insolence; and dismissed the ambassador with marks of indignity, rarely practised in the East †.

The troops moved from Trichinopoly on the 13th of September 1771; but hostilities were first commenced by Tuljagee. A party of his cavalry attacked the rear of our army, and with their sabres cut to pieces the women and unarmed followers of the camp, in the most barbarous and inhuman manner. A detail of military transactions is foreign to the purpose of this state of facts. It is sufficient to say, that, on the 24th of October 1771, when the Raja saw his forces routed in the field, the open country exposed to the mercy of the enemy, his forts ready to fall into their hands, he threw himself upon the mercy of the Nabob, and submitted to conditions which he never meant to perform. The Nabob, with more humanity than policy, accepted his submission, raised the siege of the capital, and evacuated the country *.

The event of the war, one might suppose, should have secured, at least for some time, the obedience of the Raja. But misfortune itself had no effect on the restless and treacherous spirit of Tuljagee. The rear of our army had scarce ceased to be seen from the walls of Tanjore, when the Raja began to encourage the Marattos to invade the Carnatic. In compliance with his solicitations, twenty thousand of their horse appeared on the frontiers of the province under the command of Trimbuck Row, and threatened the whole country with fire and sword ‡. To gratify these marauders, the Nabob was obliged to pay down a considerable sum of money, besides presents of jewels, fire-arms, and elephants. The intercepted letters of Tuljagee to Poonah prove, that this invasion was undertaken by his advice, and at his instigation §.

† He waved his hand and told him to be gone, pronouncing the word *Jow*, which is never used to any person of rank; and is considered as the greatest insult possible.

* Consultations, 1771, in the India House.

‡ Vid. Country correspondence for 1771, and 1772, in the India House.

§ Nabob's correspondence with the Board. India House.

Though the Marattos retreated, contrary to the expectations of the Raja of Tanjore, he continued his intrigues at Poonah. In the beginning of the year 1773, he sent a person to that capital, to entertain a body of horse, and to solicit the alliance of the State for a war against the Carnatic. Mr. Mostyn, the English Resident at the court of Poonah, was no stranger to this negotiation †. He advised the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, that the Carnatic was to be invaded by the combined forces of the Marattos and the Raja. The Nabob, as well as the Company's servants, being averse to a fresh war, perhaps delayed too long the only effectual means to deprive the Zemindar of the power of injury.

It is evident, from the whole tenor of Tuljagee's conduct, from the day the siege of Tanjore was raised, that he meditated another war. He only waited for a fit opportunity of carrying fire and sword through the dominions of the Nabob, his lawful and acknowledged superior. Happily for the prosperity of the Carnatic, fortunately for the English, the abilities of the Raja were not equal to his perfidy. His intrigues, however, were not confined to Asiatic powers. Though he had sent several embassies to Hyder Ali, he turned chiefly his views to quarters still more alarming to the Nabob and the Company. He entered into the strictest connexions with the French, the Dutch, and the Danes, as appeared from the original Sunnuds, delivered up to the Nabob after the capture of Tanjore by the respective governors of those three nations. He had actually concluded a treaty with the French. Large sums of money, an exclusive privilege of trade, and valuable territories, were to have been exchanged for a body of Europeans and a train of artillery *. To the Dutch he sold some districts, mortgaged others ‡; and set aside the Suba of Manugoody, for the express purpose of paying a body of troops, with

† Minutes of the Select Committee at Madras, in the India-house.

* Country correspondence and consultations, in the India House.

‡ Country correspondence, 1773. India House. Vide also No. VI. of the Appendix.

which they were to supply him in his meditated war against the Nabob. He mortgaged some other districts to the Danes; and raised money by these means from their settlement at Tanquebar ‡. The Dutch actually began to assemble troops at Nigapatnam §; and their alliance with the Raja of Tanjore was openly avowed by the Governor of Batavia, in a letter to the Nabob*.

Since the reduction of the French power on the coast of Coromandel, the period now mentioned was the most pregnant with danger to the English interest in Hindostan. Had the intrigues of the Raja succeeded, the Carnatic was to have been invaded by the Marattos, Hyder Ali, and the whole force of Tanjore. The French and Dutch had actually assembled troops for the expedition, the first at Mauritius, the latter at Ceylon, with a view to possess themselves of territories, whose manufactures, in time of peace, would have done great hurt to the Company's trade; and whose revenue and situation would have amply supplied them with resources in any future war. At a crisis so alarming, the Nabob applied to the Governor and Council of Madras ††. He represented the fatal consequences of any further forbearance to his vassal. He requested the aid of the Company to dispossess the Raja of Tanjore: a measure which the laws of self-preservation, as well as the breach made upon the laws of India, had rendered indispensibly necessary †.

Upon mature deliberation, it appeared to the Governor and Council, that the Raja of Tanjore had broken through every article of the treaty between him and the Nabob; that, instead of paying his own just tribute, and aiding his superior in defence of his dominions, he had formed the most dangerous intrigues to

‡ Vide Country correspondence, &c. India House.

§ Governor Wynch's report to the Select Committee, June 22d, 1773.

* Vide Consultations, India house, 1773.

†† No. 76, Country correspondence. India House.

† No. VI.

strip him of his provinces ; and that there was even great reason to apprehend, that he meant to put the French in possession of his capital and country, rather than submit to the English and their ally. These and other reasons, supported by positive proofs, produced an unanimous vote for undertaking an immediate expedition against Tanjore *.

When men deliberate on affairs of moment, it is but justice to themselves, as well as to their constituents, to weigh such objections, as may be raised against the measures which they mean to adopt. On this principle, the idea of the guarantee of 1762, was introduced before the Council. This was not done to prevent the expedition ; but merely to set forth, upon the face of their proceedings, every possible argument on the opposite side of the question. The subject was fully canvassed and weighed. It may be affirmed with truth, that there was not a single person at the Board, so biased in his judgment, so ignorant of the nature of the pretended guarantee, so lost to every idea of common justice, as to suppose, that the treaty had not expired with the life of Per-taub Sing ; even if it had not been annihilated by the uniform treachery of his son. The justice of the measure was placed on these and such other grounds ; and the necessity of it became apparent, when, upon the capture of Tanjore, a correspondence with the French was discovered ; which proved to conviction, that if the English and the Nabob had delayed the expedition much longer, a garrison from Pondicherry would have taken possession of Tanjore †.

To the unanimity among the servants of the Company, in favour of the expedition, may be added the sanction of the British nation, in the person of his Majesty's representative in the Carnatic. Sir Robert Harland was so sensible of the absolute necessity of the measure, that he proposed to strengthen the army of the

* Consultations, Separate Department in the Select Committee, for 1773. India House.

† Consultations and country correspondence, for 1773. India House.

Nabob and the Company, with the marines of his Majesty's squadron †. The offer with regard to the marines was rejected, only because it was not necessary to accept it. But two ships of the squadron were employed in transporting a detachment of troops from the northern Circars. His Majesty himself, in a letter publicly read at the Durbar, had, in express terms, congratulated the Nabob, upon the success of the first expedition against Tanjore. The words of the letter were remarkable; and conveyed in the strongest manner the approbation of the British nation, in the person of their sovereign: for his Majesty was pleased to say: "It gave us satisfaction to hear, that the Governor and Council of Madras had sent the Company's troops with yours to reduce YOUR TRIBUTARY THE RAJA OF TANJORE to obedience; in which we hope, with the blessing of God, they will be successful."

In March 1772, the Court of Directors were informed of the first expedition against Tanjore, of the reasons which led to that measure, and of the probability, that the entire expulsion of the Raja would, some time or other, become absolutely necessary ‡. The second expedition was not undertaken till the month of July 1773. In the interval, the presidency at Madras had received several dispatches from Europe. Not one word of disapprobation of the first war, not even the appearance of a prohibition of future hostilities, was contained in any one of the letters from the Court of Directors. The presidency were urged to the expedition, by the critical situation of affairs on the coast; and they manifestly had the sanction of the nation, and the approbation of the Company, to execute a measure imposed upon them, by justice, policy, and even necessity.

An hereditary enmity to the British nation, and a settled aversion to the Nabob of the Carnatic seem to have guided the whole political conduct of Tuljagee. A sketch of the character of that

† Sir Robert Harland's letters to the President and Council, July, August, and September, 1773. India House.

‡ Consultations of Select Committee, June 23d 1773.

profligate young man will form no improper sequel to the preceding detail of facts. This shall be done with freedom, but with justice and impartiality.

The misfortunes of Tuljagee may be deduced from the first act of his government. No sooner had his father expired, than he removed from his presence every person suspected of being attached to the Nabob of Arcot. Monagee, a name well known in the annals of India, had often saved Pertaub Sing, from the consequences of his own rash and profligate conduct. This old warrior, grown grey in the service of the family, was disgraced and imprisoned to make room for one Gilbilliapah, a person, who from the lowest and most despicable office in a Durbar, was raised to the place of minister, and to the command of the forces *. No evil consequence followed, that had not been dreaded before. Tyranny, cruelty, oppression, laid waste the country without; riot, debauchery, and every species of extravagance and vice reigned within the Durbar. Destitute of morality, but devoted to superstition, Tuljagee lavished away his treasure on Bramins and Faquiers; and thus ruined himself with priests, whilst he violated every principle of religion. All such as would not become the companions of his vices, were forced to fly the country. His time was divided between the pleasures of the haram and the bottle. To the latter he was so immoderately addicted, that he has been known to wallow for several days together, in a state of the most beastly intoxication. To supply his extravagance, money was extorted from the farmers at home, by unheard-of tortures; whilst the troops were employed abroad in exacting unjust contributions, from the neighbouring Zemindars.

In short, there was no species of public injustice, none of private profligacy, which the Raja did not practise himself, or en-

* His office was to hold the *spitting-box* to the Raja. He was also his *Barawar*, (in English a *pimp*) which *honourable* employment he continued to execute with that of *Premier*. In his capacity of *Barawar*, he recommended his own sister to Tuljagee; this was the merit which placed him at the head of the Tanjore ministry.

courage in others. The effects of debauchery and disorders incident to his course of pleasures, had enervated his mind, whilst they enfeebled his body. Having, at times, acquired fictitious courage from the fumes of wine, he talked of conquering the Carnatic, and driving the English out of India. But when danger appeared, his spirit fled, and he shrunk into the inmost recesses of the Haram. His pusillanimity during the siege, gave the finishing stroke to his reputation; and deprived him of that pity, which is seldom denied to the unfortunate.

Such was the Raja of Tanjore! Not even his most zealous friends can deny the likeness of the portrait; or affirm, with truth, that the colouring is overcharged. The picture would be still more like the original, had not his private vices been left in the shade; but over these we shall draw a veil, for the honour of human nature. Such is the man, for whom an old and faithful ally is to be dishonoured in his reputation, dispossessed of his dominions, disgraced in the eyes of the Asiatics, rendered despicable to those of Europeans. Such is the man, for whom our most solemn guarantee is violated, our national faith broken, our alliances contemned, our trade endangered, and our possessions left open to enemies!

The events which succeeded the taking of Tanjore, are already known to the public. The fort and country were solemnly invested in the Nabob; as a forfeiture from a refractory and rebellious vassal to his feudal lord. The Raja remained in custody; but he was scarce less at large, than when, by choice, he secluded himself from the world, for the gratification of his secret vices. The treatment he has received, has been in every respect suitable to humanity, and consonant to the Nabob's known generosity*. He occupies his former palace; he receives a revenue suitable to his former rank. His mother, his women, his rela-

* Vide his own and his mother's letters to the Nabob, entered in the Country Correspondence in 1773 and 1774. India House

tions, his friends, and the companions of his former, as well as present vices, are still around him as before; and maintained at the Nabob's expence. The same allowances to Faquiers, Bra- mins, Pagodas, and all the institutions peculiar to the Gentoo religion, are continued. The very prejudices, as well as principles of that sect are indulged, with the utmost tenderness by the Nabob. He has carried his attention to the opinions of the people so far, that he has even forbid, throughout the dominion of Tanjore, under the severest penalties, the killing of a cow, an animal sacred among all the followers of Brammah.

Upon the whole, it may be affirmed, with truth, that the capture of Tanjore, and the deposing the Raja, was an act of indispenfible justice, as well as necessary policy †. The measure, in fact, was founded upon the law and principle of self-defence. Had it been longer delayed, the Carnatic, and consequently the Company's trade and poffeffions on the coast of Coromandel, would have been in imminent danger, from the inveteracy and intrigues of the perfidious Tuljagee. It has already appeared, from the constitution of the empire, and the nature of the feudal system, that the Zemindar of Tanjore, as a vassal of the Carnatic, held his country by certain tenures, and upon exprefs conditions, which he had repeatedly and avowedly violated. In consequence of such violation, the Subahdar of the Carnatic was authorised, by law, and every principle of justice, to dispossess Tuljagee; and to appoint to the management of the Zemindary, any person he judged proper.

† Consultations, Select Committee, June 22d. 1773. In deliberating upon the proposed expedition against Tanjore, the Committee were unanimously of opinion, " That it was dangerous, in the present system, to have such a power, as the Raja of Tanjore, in the heart of the Carnatic; and that it was expedient for the safety of the Carnatic and the Company's poffeffions, that the Raja of Tanjore should be reduced." And in Consultations of the Military Department, June 29th, 1773; amongst other reasons for undertaking the war, the Board unanimously declare, " That the total reduction of the Raja was become a measure of self-defence."

Upon the ground of expedience, a thousand arguments might be produced, against the measure of restoring Tanjore to the Raja. That province is one of the most fertile and opulent countries in the Decan. When it remained in the hands of the Raja, the Dutch, as well as the French and Danes, were enabled to provide more considerable investments in the southern countries, than the English Company. But, should the French possess themselves of the country (a circumstance scarce to be doubted, should it happen to be restored to the Raja), they will derive from it great resources for war, and be enabled to intersect the Nabob's dominions, and so cut off the communication between the southern provinces and our principal force in the Carnatic. Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevely, the countries of the great and little Marawar, would, in such case, inevitably fall into their hands; besides, they would have it in their power to starve Madras, by stopping the exportation of grain, from Trijnili Wash, and other sea-ports of Tanjore †.

On the other hand, should the country remain in the possession of the Nabob, the investments of the Company might be increased; the resources of Tanjore, instead of strengthening the enemies of the Nabob, would provide the means of aiding his friends with success; our territory, and consequently our commerce, would extend from the Ganges to Cape Comorin; the sea on the one side, the western mountains on the other, would form a double barrier for our protection; and the Nabob, by the addition made to his revenue, would be able to entertain a body of horse, to secure the country, from the depredatory incursions of the Marattoes.

The orders given to Lord Pigot, for the restoration of Tuljagee, were in every light founded on false as well as unjust principles. They take it for granted, that Tuljagee is the hereditary sovereign and proprietor of Tanjore. But it has been demonstrated, that his

† But should Tanjore remain in the hands of the Nabob, it would be impossible for any European enemy to march six miles from the coast, for want of coolies and beasts of burden.

first ancestor was an usurper, and the whole line vassals. It has also appeared, that Pertaub Sing, was himself, in consequence of his misdemeanors, as a vassal of the empire, deposed and confined by his feudal lord, the Nabob of the Carnatic. During his confinement he received only half a crown a day, for his subsistence; and few, who knew the character of the man, thought the allowance too small.

The orders are unjust, because the Nabob had an inherent right in himself, as Subahdar of the Carnatic, to dispossess his vassal, the Zemindar of Tanjore, when he failed in his obedience. But, if the Nabob's right of dispossessing is inherent in his office, what right has the Company to restore his feudatory, without his consent? Is not the territory his own? Have we any right or claim to his dominions? Should it even be allowed, that the Company may justly encroach on the authority of Mahommed Ali, have they a right to break through every tie, that binds states and corporate bodies? Did not their Governor and Council, in the most solemn manner, deliver over to the Nabob, the fort and country of Tanjore, on certain stipulations and conditions? Has the Nabob broke any part of the treaty, to justify a breach on the Company's side? Has not the government of this kingdom, in the person of the King's representative, given its sanction to the conquest? And does the Company pretend to abrogate the deed of the nation?

The orders are incompatible with every idea of justice, on other grounds. An expedition is undertaken, and a conquest completed, with the aid and sanction of the Company and of the State. This expedition, and this conquest, were carried on and finished, at the sole expence of the Nabob. That expence was enormous: Prize money to the army, donations to the principal servants, a voluntary gift of 400,000 l. to the Company, a sum nearly equal to redeem, from the Dutch and Danes, the districts, which Tuljagee had either mortgaged or sold to those nations;
together

together with immense sums laid out on the fortifications of Tanjore, by the express advice of the presidency, and under the inspection of one of the Company's Engineers ‡.

But, if the Company chuse to be unjust to the Nabob, is it consistent with common prudence, to be unjust to themselves? If the Nabob must be dispossessed of Tanjore, has he not an undoubted claim in equity, if not in law, to have the sums he has expended on the conquest, refunded? Is it a trifling consideration to the proprietors, to lose the free gift of 400,000 l.? Is it a matter of no consequence to be deprived of the pay of three battalions of Seapoys, from the year 1769, to the restoration of Tanjore, in terms of the treaty? Did not the Nabob agree to maintain ten instead of seven battalions; and did he not engage to raise a body of horse, so necessary for the defence of our possessions? The Company have truly carried their generosity to Tuljagee, their avowed enemy, to a pitch beyond example. They not only break treaties, but either forego or squander treasures, to gratify a profligate young man, who will use his good fortune, only as the means of pursuing with more ease his own abominable vices.

The orders are as contrary to true policy, as they are destitute of common justice. We deprive a power, whose fidelity we have long tried, whose attachment we have long experienced, of a rich country. We restore it to another, who has been uniformly treacherous and hostile. The former is from habit, and inclination, our friend. The latter from early prejudices, as well as on account of recent injuries, our enemy. The one has added the affection of his father, to his own regard, for the English interest; the other has joined an hereditary aversion to his own particular resentment. But granting, that the Raja may wish to be grateful to the Company, will not common prudence teach him to put no

‡ Vid. the concluding Number of the Appendix.

trust in British faith? Can a newly acquired ally place any confidence in our treaties, after we have broken all the public and private ties, which bound us to an old and faithful friend?

Men who wish to cover injustice with an excuse of expediency, have charged the Nabob with ambition, and a design of emancipating himself from the controul of the Company. The injustice of the Company, on the present occasion, may hereafter suggest a wish of that kind to his injured mind. But he may defy the most inveterate of his enemies to produce a single instance of such a wish. But should he entertain any design of that kind, how is it possible for him to execute it? Are not his forts garrisoned with our troops? His army commanded by our officers? Is not his country open to our invasion? His person always in our power? Is not he himself, are not his children, his family, his servants, under the very guns of Fort St. George? This silly calumny of independence has been fabricated by some of the Company's servants, who were jealous of the Nabob's correspondence with government. But had he met with justice from the Company, he would not now stand in need of the protection of the sovereign, and the justice of the nation, for securing his rights and establishing his authority.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

Coulnama from Nabob † Zulphkar Cawn, Bahawder to Subougee, the eldest Son of Eckogee, the first Usurper of Tanjore; which shews the absolute Dependence of that Country, on the Carnatic.

I Have received your obligation in writing, containing assurances of your humiliation, submission, penitence, and dejection, and of your avoiding your former untoward conduct, and not assisting Ramah, begging pardon for your past faults, and engaging to become a faithful subject of the empire; and also engaging to pay an annual tribute of thirty lack of rupees; twenty lack you will pay now, with jewels and elephants, and ten the next year; and in the room of furnishing me with a force, you'll deliver up to me the forts of Poltamcotah, Citterners, and Tauh, with their districts, and Alscautmanaugoody, Sheamusty, Zuttegoodynar, Juvrapoor, Elvanafoor, Kaulcoont, and Pandalum, &c. which you took from Ramrage; and further begging to have the gracious Firmaun, pardoning your faults, and giving you the title of Rajah, and the Zemindary of Tanjore.—Though your faults, from the beginning to this time, do not merit forgiveness, and, by the blessing of God, the reduction of Tanjore was as good as accomplished; yet, as the Imperial Court is replete with mercy and forgiveness, and the servants thereof are ever disposed to pardon offences, considering your humiliation and submissive entreaties, I have agreed to your proposal, on condition of your discharging the stipulated tribute, and not by any means assisting the rebellious Ramah.—I have sworn by the King, who is the shadow of the

† Nabob of the Carnatic.

Most High, (for whose safety may thousands give their lives) and having marked this paper with the palm of my hand, have sent it to you, as an assurance that you may in peace of mind, and in confidence, discharge your tribute, deliver up the fort and districts, avoid any connection with the rebel, and not act in any manner whatsoever contrary to orders; that we may write to the presence of the King, and obtain for you his gracious Firmaun, granting you forgiveness of your faults, and giving you the title of Rajah, and the Zemindary of Tanjore—by which you will be honoured and exalted.

No. II.

Translation of a Letter under the Seal of Governor Pigot, received by the Hands of Governor Vansittart.

THE friendship, regard, and attachment, which the Company most sincerely have for his Highness the Nabob, are well known to every one. They have taken, and do take, much pains in settling the affairs of his Highness. By the blessing of God, the whole country of the Carnatic, from Nellore to Tinevelly, is fallen under the government of his Highness, and is obedient to his Highness's orders. The Company's servants are by no means to meddle in the affairs of his country. You are therefore implicitly to obey his Highness's orders and commands, which will be for your interest and advantage.

The List of the Names of the Hamildars, Killidars, Polygars, &c. to whom the above Letter was sent, is as follows.

His Highness's brother, &c.

Nabob Mahomed Morpheuz Cawn, Bahader, Shawmet Jung.

Abdul Vahaub Cawn, Bahader.

Najeeb Wollau Cawn, Bahader.

Abful Vodeen Mahomed Cawn, Bahader.

Baderul Yessaum Cawn, Bahader; called Abut Maule Cawn.

Struite Issaum Cawn, Bahader.

Nabob's mother and sister.

To the Chiefs, Mumubdars, &c.

Meer Affadulla Cawn.
 Seyd Futta Aly Cawn.
 Hufsein Mahomed Cawn.
 Maluck Mahomed Huffelum Cawn.
 Merjau Abdul Curream.
 Benghar Yechama Naig.
 Damusla Sencatapah Naig.
 PERTAUB SING, RAJA of TANJORE *.
 Kiftnagh Rauz, Raja of Myfore.

To the Killidars belonging to the Carnatic Payengaut, &c.

Golan Murtejah Cawn, Killidar of Vellore.
 Golaumaully Raza Cawn, eldest brother of the said Killidar.
 Caufim Aly Cawn, Killidar of Saujerah.
 Jaffier Aly Cawn, Killidar of the Carnatic Gadah.
 Jaffier Aly Cawn, late Killidar of the Kercut Bollam.
 Abul Hufsein Cawn, Killidar of Parmecoil.
 Maluck Mahomed Aly Cawn, of Mastafagudda
 Cauder Hufsein Cawn, called Abdul Cauder, son of Cauder Hufsein
 Cawn, Killidar of Moycmundal.
 Sandut Mundo Cawn, Killidar of Coveripaute.
 Mahomed Razaw, son of Yeraufud Cawn, Killidar of Sautgeda.
 Bedruddeen Hufsein Cawn, Killidar of Ceylausgedda.
 Mootcellies Cawn, Killidar of Amboorgedda.
 Yekeraum Cawn Tauyer, Killidar of Argeda.
 Mahomed Hufsein Cawn Tayer, called Mautpur Cawn, Killidar of
 Runjowlada.
 Subdur Hufsein Cawn, Killidar of Culloor.
 Autom Cawn, Killidar of Cadavadoo.
 Daud Mahomed Cawn, Killidar of Palamcotta.
 Mahomed Affud, Killidar of Suttavadoo.

* Pertaub Sing is here placed very low in a list of the Nabob's *subjects*; though, when it suits a purpose, he is stiled *King of Tanjore*. Vid. Treaty of 1762, guarantee'd, in the name of the Company, by Lord Pigot himself. See also his Lordship's orders for restoring the son of Pertaub Sing.

Meer Abdul Cauder Cawn, Killidar of Wodegur.
 Abas Cauly Cawn, Killidar of Ballanpoor.
 Cauder Aly Cawn, Killidar of Permacoilgedda.
 Trefnulrow, Killidar of Arnee.
 Letchmanaring, Killidar of Duttafore.

To the Humildars and Renters.

Velly Mahomed Cawn, Renter of Trepausefore.
 Yefuf Cawn, Commandant.
 Streenewaus, Renter of Trepatty.
 Pushp Nauda Nainaur, Renter of Trevaulore.
 Vura Rangova Reddy, Renter of Saulvauck.
 Ramalinga Pilla, Renter of Ballepoor, &c.
 Roya Kishin Row, Hamuldar of Verdauchel, &c.
 Corpora Modally, Renter of Chengulputt Purgunnah.
 Mahomed Affum.
 Sheek Golaum Mahaddeen, Renter of Conjivirum, &c.
 Meer Audel Cawn.
 Jaffer Husein Cawn, Renter of Tremaumilla.

To the Polygars, &c.

Bomma Rauz.
 Ramahudra Rauz, Zemindar of Ongole.
 Stree raum Bema Naidoo.
 Chessul Gundama Naidoo, belonging to Gopah.
 Pedavall Gundama Naidoo, belonging to ditto.
 Mul Rauz, belonging to Ponnary.
 Vencatarauma Rauz, belonging to ditto.
 Sauyeb Naidoo, belonging to Gopah.
 Baul Naidoo, belonging to ditto.
 Kistnama Naidoo, belonging to ditto.
 Pollcagairy Hurkwar.
 Ditto Wyaulwaur.
 Naugundy Vengum Naidoo.
 Vedamaulje Vordapah Naidoo, belonging to Trepausefore.
 Ditto Rungapah Naidoo, belonging to ditto.

Gommede Poondy Nellapah Naidoo, belonging to Ponnary.
 Coallore Ragoputty Rauz, belonging to ditto.
 Polligars of Naugalaupore.
 Ditto of Chittore.
 Ditto of Mountains.
 Zupully Letchema Row.
 Seddum Naidoo.
 Raum Rauz, Zemindar of Mautcherulla.
 Runga Reddy Defauye of Nellore.
 Moodojee Mullock Caula Comemil Oddaury.
 Verjee Wobul Mutto Roya Nainary, Zemindar of Arialore.
 Vengitachelum Reddy, Poligar of Tiroom.
 Vizia Ragonaut Seedputty Mazawar.
 Vizia Ragonaut Tirvarapore.
 Vizia Ragonaut Roya, Tondiman Poligars, belonging to Munnepauda.
 Polligars of Madina.
 Pullepetore, Polligar of Trinevelly.
 Virgada, belonging to ditto.
 Zimmindar Cutbommau, belonging to ditto.
 Wonnare, belonging to ditto.
 Other Polligars, ditto, ditto.
 Raumrauz, Zemindar of Mullauwar.
 Armachel Vufundatkisna, Vanauda Roya, Bundaury to Ternamulla.
 Chuckroyal, Zemindar of Punganore.
 Zemindar of Chuttuldrack.
 Royapah Razo, Zemindar of Pettapore.
 Vengataraum Raze Mullavaur, Zemindar of Chittra.

*Translation of a Letter from Governor Pigot, and Council, to the
 Nabob's Lady, received the 16th Zicaude 1163 Hegira, or
 1st July 1760.*

[This Letter was wrote by the knowledge of Governor Vansittart, and
 received through his means.]

BY the favour of God, the Nabob is arrived here safe and victorious.
 With great humility and friendship I discharged my duty, in making
 him.

him my obeisance. I am very happy in hearing of your Highness's, and illustrious son's good health, for which, I give my thanks to the Almighty. The Company has, with great pleasure, agreed to all his Highness's business, agreeable to his desire, and they most cordially wish prosperity to his affairs, being obedient to him. By God's providence, the whole Carnatic, from Nelloor to Trinevelly, is entirely fallen under the government of his Highness, and the Company's people are by no means to meddle in the affairs of the country, either now or hereafter. By the blessing of God, the government of the whole Carnatic is entirely and firmly established in his Highness the Nabob, Umdaht ul Mulk, Seraja Dowla, Bahawder, and in his posterity. As long as the English settlements remain in the Decan, Bengal, and Hindostan, the Company's people are diligently to use their endeavours, in promoting and assisting the affairs of the Carnatic, in its obedience to his Highness, and in maintaining firm friendship and regard. They are friends to your Highness, and they have and will consider your and your son's friends as their friends, and your enemies as their enemies.

By the favour of God, the above-mentioned agreement is concluded, between his Highness, and the Company's people, and the whole Council have, with the greatest pleasure, confirmed it.

I write you this news, as I thought it would be agreeable to your Highness's mind. I beg your Highness will esteem me as your faithful servant, and do me the honour to favour me with your kind letters.

No. III.

Translation of a Letter from Pertaub Sing, Raja of Tanjore, to the famous Rebel Ifouf Cawn.

I Have received your letter, and understand the contents: you mention your having received two letters, one in English, the other in Persian, desiring that you should go to Madras, and you wish me to give my opinion about your going there. I think you should not go to Madras in consequence of the Persian letter; the disposition and intention of the
English,

English, you are well acquainted with, and if they are sincere, you should go, if not, you should urge some proper pretence; this will be the best method. The bad man (he means the Nabob) gives advice to the English, which point we should attend to. You should take security from some man of consequence at Madras, and then you'll be safe; as you are a man of sense and forecast, 'tis needless for me to say any more.

Translation of a Letter from Isouf Cawn to Pertaub Sing, Raja of Tanjore.

I HAVE received your kind letter, accompanied by one from Purseram Pandat, by two Hirearrahs. You mention that the Travancore business, which I lately settled, is of great consequence; that the Nabob has treacherously begun to raise troubles, and that I should be prepared for him, and have every thing in readiness; that the peace made between you, was nothing more than the name, and that the Nabob has deceit in his mind; that the mound and the water courses are broken, and that the revenues of the Tanjore country depend upon their being in good order; that you therefore began to repair the mound, but have been prevented by the Nabob; that you had written a letter on this subject to the governor; and that, if you received a favourable answer from him, and a strict order to the Nabob to allow your people to proceed, it would be well, if not, that you would send your troops to protect your people in repairing it; that you would be prepared for the business either way, and that if service required it, I should assist you. All this I fully understand.

From the beginning, those who have endeavoured to disturb your government have felt the consequences, as is well known to the world. Should any thing of that kind now happen, I am ready to give you every assistance, as I have already written to you, and that you might be easy in your mind. I am deeply engaged in the management of business here. The Polygar of Nectum country is run away, and my people went there and took possession of it. If the Nabob and any other power should come to these parts, by the assistance of God, they shall meet with a warm reception. I have written to Purseram Fundat some things of which he
will

will inform you. I hope you will make me happy, by advising me of your good health.

Translation of a Letter from Isouf Cawn, to Pertaub Sing, Raja of Tanjore.

I SENT you a letter the day before yesterday, containing the news of Madura. I have lately received a letter from Purseram Pundat, wherein he mentions, that the governor of Madras made use of some harsh expressions to Sumbagee Pundat. Some days since, Sumbagee wrote a letter to you, and you sent him a proper answer, as I fully understand. You need be under no apprehensions about business, for should the Governor, by the bad advice of the Nabob, alter his style, what does it signify. From the beginning there has been no difference between you and me; I have considered your interest as mine, and have acted accordingly, which I shall continue, as I have always wrote you. When you give me notice, you may be assured, that I will be perfectly prepared. The French Squadron will certainly arrive here, in a short time; besides, there are strong reports, that the Marrattas will come here with all expedition. In this case, every man will be obliged to take care of himself, without thinking of doing more; wherefore, should the Nabob give any bad advice to the Governor, I am clear of any apprehensions on that head, as you should be also. By the blessing of God, the French Squadron will soon be here, and they consider your protection as their first object; you have already given them great assistance; they are now near Morlaw, and, with the Squadron, are, Monsieur de Forcee, and two other admirals. You should write to them to come here soon, and that you will give them all the assistance in your power, and that you will also oblige Isouf Cawn to do the same; that the French Company, &c. should continue their friendship, and that they should send you a paper to that purpose signed by five captains. It is necessary that you should send your Vakeel to Monsieur Moodaw to settle this business through him, and your letter should be in the French language. If you desire it, I will prepare a letter for you in that language, and send it you. When you have had the contents explained to you, you may forward it to the commanding officer, by means of Monsieur Moodaw. You are a man of sense and knowledge; this business

business is to be done expeditiously. Purseram Pundat, will inform you of some circumstances which I shall write to him. I hope that you will make me happy, by advising me of your good health.

Translation of a Letter in the Hindostan Language, from Isouf Cawn, to Tuljagee, Raja of Tanjore.

I HAVE sent by a Hircarrah my answer to your letter, and hope you have received it. The English have erected batteries opposite the north and west side of the fort, and have day and night kept up a fire for twenty days, both from cannon and mortars. On the 26th Zehige, being Tuesday, they stormed the fort, and scaled the walls at the same time; but, they were beat off, as the people in the fort fought very well, they left their ladders behind them, and retired to their batteries. By the assistance of God, and your favour, I gained a great victory; report will inform you of the number of Europeans and Sepoys killed and wounded. There are but fifteen Sepoys killed, and fifteen wounded belonging to the garrison; should they attack us again, I will beat them well. I write this pleasing news for your information. I have written to Purseram Pundat about some business which he will explain to you; and I hope that you will be pleased to manage accordingly. It is very difficult for a single man to stir out of this; therefore, I recommend this as very necessary business, and desire that you'll do me the favour to attend to it. The great Raja Pertaub Sing shewed me great favour and friendship, and I expect the same from you. Inform me always of your good health.

Translation of a Letter in the Hindostan Language, from Isouf Cawn, to Tuljagee, Raja of Tanjore.

I HAVE received your kind letter, which I fully understand, as well as what you mentioned to Purseram Pundat to write to me. I am convinced that you heartily wish for my prosperity, which is near at hand; you wrote me that I should not delay my assistance to you; you need not, my friend, write often to me on this subject; should any thing happen, I will, with all my troops, join yours immediately without fail. I write

some things to Purseram Pundat, which you'll more fully understand from him. Make me happy, by often informing me of your good health.

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur Merchant†, to Tuljagee, Raja of Tanjore.

I was sent here last year by the great Raja Pertaub Sing to the assistance of Isouf Cawn, and remained here since. The English have lately declared war, and besieged the fort of Madura. Isouf Cawn and I are unanimous, and have punished our enemies, as you may have heard. I am told, that Mahommed Aly Cawn is raising troubles in every respect in the Tanjore country, and that you are engaged in taking measures to oppose him. As I was in the pay of the great Raja Pertaub Sing, I now think of nothing but attending you, and giving you my service. By the blessing of God, the French squadron will soon arrive. Let us have here what assistance you can spare, and take measures that I may go to you. The real case is this, should any trouble happen in your country, the enemy will take advantage of it, but Isouf Cawn and I will join you with all our troops. I came here according to the order of Raja Pertaub Sing, and have remained here since.

No. IV.

Translation of a Letter in the Hindostan Language, from Tuljagee to Hyder Aly Cawn.

I Hope you have received three lacks of rupees, and the two elephants I sent you by Abul Houssein Cawn, and Samsharow my Vakeel; I now send you by Aly Zemaun Cawn, one lack of rupees, and two elephants, which make in all, four lacks of rupees, and four elephants; I hope you will acquaint me of having received them. Depending on your firm friendship, I am in every respect easy in my mind, and all apprehensions are removed from me. I have informed my Vakeels with the particulars of my situation; you'll give attention to their representations, and make me happy, by letting me hear from you. You'll always continue me in

† He betrayed Isouf Cawn into the hands of the English.

your favour, and write me letters; as there is friendship between us, it is needless for me to write you further.

** Translation of a Letter from Hyder Aly Cawn, to Tuljagce.*

YOUR Vakeel Baboo Row has fully acquainted me with what you have written to him. You must not imagine that I attend to any thing but the destruction of our mutual enemy: you may rest assured of this. My reason for marching into Ballagaut is, that the English troops are retired from my country, and are marched six or seven stages towards Trenomelé; on which I came here to settle the business of Ballagaut, to raise troops here, and to draw others from different countries. I intend to assemble twenty-five thousand men; and to take every measure for destroying the enemy; and have sent parties to recruit at different places, and troops are coming from all quarters. Pundut Purdarum has promised to join me, and some of his troops under the command of Gopaul Row, and other Marratta chiefs, are now advanced as far as Roy Drug, and Harpanally. I will, by the assistance of God, bring all the army together, and punish the enemy. When this business is once begun, it will be impossible for him to protect his own country, then how can he molest you? You will in a short time see the situation of the enemy. To annoy the enemy, till I can march the main body of my army against them, I have sent Lallamia into the Payengaut†, with five or six thousand horse; besides, there are in readiness to follow him, two commanders, each having under his command four thousand horse, and five thousand Sepoys: They shall march from hence in three or four days. My daily employment is increasing my troops. You need not fear the enemy; depend upon your strength, and give no money to them, nor send them any troops, but put them off by delays, and write privately to all the Polygars, dependent upon you, to be in readiness with all their troops. I send Seid Abdul Ruffoul, and Juggeewun Row to Namkul country, to raise troops. Oblige such as you have no occasion for in your country, to go there, and entertain with them. All other matters you'll be informed of by Baboorow, your Vakeel.

† The Carnatic.

*Translation of a Letter in the Hindostan Language, from Tuljagee,
to Hyder Aly Cawn.*

I HAVE received your friendly letter, by the hands of Baboorow Vakeel, and understand the contents. You write me that now there is friendship between us, I should consider your troops, and your wealth as mine, and repose myself in pleasure, and ease of mind; your Vakeel verbally confirmed this, which has made me happy beyond expression. I regard your friendship as advantage to me in every respect for ever. As it is your intention to add to the prosperity of my country, I have no apprehensions. I now send you one elephant. As there is a wedding in the family of Samshurow here, you'll be pleased to give him leave to come hither. When it is over, he will return to you. Make me happy by advising me of your good health.

No. V.

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob, to the Governor and Council, dated 8th Jemaudifanni 1185 Hegira, or 18th September 1771.

EVER since the Carnatic has been an established Government, the fort and country of Tanjore have been dependent upon it. The present Raja's forefathers took the said country and fort by treachery, from which time, they have always been subject to the orders of the Subahdars of the Carnatic, and paid the lawful tribute, in such a manner as to leave not the smallest difference in business. They themselves have been astonished, that no body had taken their country from them. I wrote you in my former letters, that Subder Aly Cawn, agreeable to the direction of his father, took the country, and placed his people in garrison in the Fort. When Ali Doast Cawn was killed, as also Subder Ali Cawn, in the family disputes, and no successor left in the family, at which time Shaick Lutfullah Killadar, who was appointed by Subder Ali Cawn, having rebelled, the present Raja's father took possession of the Fort. When the Nabob Aufuph Jaw found it convenient to come to the Carnatic, he intended to
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take the Fort of Tanjore ; but it cost him six months to take the Fort of Trichinopoly from Morasirov. One Abdiel Rahim Cawn, uncle of Aufuph Jaw, who had been his deputy in the Decan, and left at Avarungabaud, died.—After that, affairs of the Decan were so conducted that he was obliged to go there himself ; therefore he had no time to take Tanjore, but settled the business for fifty lacks of rupees, and returned himself to the Decan. My father repeatedly defeated the Raja of Tanjore, and obliged him to pay the tribute. After my father, as Chundah knew that the Rajah was tributary, he carried Hedayet Mohadeen Cawn and the French to Tanjore, surrounded the place, and nearly took it. As I considered him to be my neighbour and subject, I thought proper to support him, and to assist him with my fighting people, provisions, and money, which you will understand by my former letters ; besides which, I laboured to persuade the English, who are my true allies, to send their assistance also ; notwithstanding this, Raja gave a bond for seventy lacks of rupees to Hedayet Mohadeen Cawn, besides what he paid in money, jewels, elephants, &c. Since my father and Nazir Jung were killed, the troubles of the French, Mysoreans, &c. came upon me and my country ; on which account I became indebted to the Company, and to individuals, for many crores ; and whatever fortune I had, I spent to subdue my enemies, and to defend my country. The Raja of Tanjore at that time did not even pay the tribute, &c. He and his country have been in tranquillity ; yet he has not failed to bring fresh troubles into the Carnatic. As he is subject to the Carnatic in that country, I suffered, and was at great losses. He, instead of enjoying that tranquillity in his country without any expence, should have also shared in the loss ; but never did. Even after the reduction of Pondichery, he paid a very little money, and made an agreement to pay a small sum for the future, which as it was small, I was of opinion would be regularly paid ; but though it is the third year, he did not pay the tribute of the two years past ; on the contrary, he raised an army, and marched against the Marwar and others, who are dependents upon the Trichinopoly country, and my tributaries, took countries, money, jewels, and elephants from them, although General Smith has been at Trichinopoly with an army for six months, which is only twelve Cofs from Tanjore, and I and the Governor and Council repeatedly endeavoured to persuade the Vacqueels to pay the tribute, the expences of the army assembled on that account, and to re-

turn the countries taken from the Marwar and others ; but they would not consent to it ; on the contrary, they prepared for war, and took the field before we did. He has promised to pay many lacks to the Marattors in the Balagate, on condition of their assisting him and ruining the Carnatic. He keeps up a correspondence with the French, requiring their friendship and assistance. He also corresponds more frequently with the Subahdar of the Decan than formerly, and engages to join him to bring troubles into this country. For all these reasons, it appears plain, that he always wished to raise disturbances in this country, because he did not pay the sum lawfully due from him ; and has cultivated friendship with my enemies, and those of the Company, offering sums of money to these other parties, to separate them from our interest ; so that while we use every means in our power to keep troubles at a distance from the Carnatic, he offers them money, inviting them to attack it, representing it as an easy matter. We therefore determined in consultation, to take tribute from him, and in case he failed, to take the Fort and country of Tanjore, by the Providence of God, to keep troubles at a distance from the Carnatic ; and I have sent Omdaht-ul-Omrah with an army to join General Smith. The hearty friendship which has subsisted between me and the Company for these 28 years, from which time no expedition has been carried on in the Carnatic without trouble and loss to me ; now the Raja of Tanjore, whose intentions are bad, endeavours to persuade the Marattas, and the other party, to raise troubles, by which my country suffers. The wickedness of the Raja is more than I can express in writing ; he can by no means be a friend ; therefore I request of my best friends, that if the Raja do not come to terms, the country and Fort of Tanjore may be taken now, which will be of use in preserving the tranquillity of the Carnatic ; and it remain under my orders in the same manner as Arrialore, Worriarpolain, Ongole, and Palnaud ; and the Raja, his effects, with all his people, and warlike stores to be at my disposal. I will agree through friendship to the Company, to pay ten lacks of Star Pagodas in times of peace ; and hope this to be a firm agreement between me and the Governor and Council. Do me the favour to write me a plain and positive answer to this, that I may esteem it as a favour.

What can I say more?

Translation of a Letter from Governor Du Pre to the Nabob, dated the 15th Jemaudifanny 1185 Hegira, or 25th September 1771. Received the next Day at Nine in the Forenoon from Mr. Stracy.

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your letter of the 8th Jemaudifanny, wherein you mentioned certain affairs relative to the kingdom of Tanjore, which have come to pass heretofore; afterwards you mentioned the bad behaviour of the present Raja in a concise manner. You wrote me proposals, in case the said Raja do not settle matters in a proper and honourable manner, that it will be necessary to engage him with the Company's troops; and if in consequence the Fort and country of Tanjore be taken, you request that the whole country of Tanjore, and the Fort, which are now in the possession of the Raja, also that the Raja, with all his people and effects, may be delivered to your disposal; on which account, you agree in times of peace to present to the Company ten lacks of Star pagodas in the way of friendship; all which I clearly understand.

Give me leave to remind you, that from the time I took charge of the government to the present, I always represented to you in a proper manner, that I am a servant to the Company, and their agent in these parts; and that I am under the necessity of obeying the lawful orders of my masters the Court of Directors; and it has been, and is, my firm resolution to obey their orders as punctually as I can. The rules and orders of the Court of Directors to their representatives here are invariably of the same tenor; and are, that we are at all times to support you in your government, to maintain peace in your and the Company's possessions in particular, to obey your orders respecting the Raja of Tanjore, and to render you assistance against him, in the manner you may think proper. We have no orders from the Court of Directors to receive any money from you, but what they have disbursed, and may disburse in your service. Thus matters stand. I have to this time followed their directions, and will continue to do so in future. As the Raja of Tanjore has not paid the tribute stipulated in the Treaty of 1762; and from the tenor of his behaviour it appears, that he has bad designs,

designs, and we may be apprehensive that the tranquillity of the Carnatic will be disturbed, you are pleased to consider me, as the East-India Company, who are your true and sincere friends ; and have desired me to assist you in bringing affairs with the said Raja to a conclusion. I have undertaken this business in the best manner I can, and sent many guns, with a large quantity of warlike stores to Trichinopoly, and a well appointed army, who are now assembled under the command of General Smith ; and I leave to yourself the settling of affairs with the said Raja, in whatever manner you may think proper ; and have given full power to General Smith, concerning the same, and to take the Fort and country of Tanjore. Whatever I may do in this business, will not be on the Company's account, but to maintain your government in peace, and to promote your business, and in some measure, on account of my being guarantee to the Treaty 1762 ; and keeping this in mind, what may be taken from the Raja of Tanjore, the fort, country, effects, and warlike stores, shall be put under your management, in the same manner, as Arrialore, Worriar Polam, Ongole, and Palnaud are. As to the Raja, his family, and people, your moderation and lenity are well known ; and I am persuaded you'll treat them with civilities, in every respect suitable to their characters, which is the practice of all nations, and of yourself in particular. These people shall be surrendered to you ; but it is necessary for me to represent to you, that by the rules of war, if a place be stormed, the captors will regard the plunder, which may be taken, as their property, and in such case, I have no power over the plunder, nor have I a right to procure it. As to the present which you have proposed to make to the Company, you'll be pleased to act as you may think proper ; but I cannot demand any thing more from you, than what the Company may have disbursed on your account, which you will readily pay. If, of your generosity and friendship for the Company, you may think proper to make any present to them, and pay it into my hand, I will receive it with great pleasure, and inform the Company thereof.

What can I say more ?

No. VI.

[C O P Y.]

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabab, to Governor Wynch, dated
26th Rabbelowell 1187 Hegira, or 18th June 1773.*

IN consequence of the bad conduct of the Raja of Tanjore, and of his failing to fulfil his promises, and in hopes of establishing peace and tranquillity in the Carnatic, the late Governor thought proper to dispatch my troops with the troops of the Company, to chastise the Raja, and to reduce the Fort of Tanjore, that it might be governed after the same manner as other tributary forts in the Carnatic ; for certain reasons which you have already clearly understood, from what has passed in former correspondence and conversation, the reduction of the Fort of Tanjore was delayed. When peace was made, he entered into fresh agreements, under his hand and seal, that he would be in friendship with the friends of the Circar, and the enemies of the Circar should be his enemies, and that he would on no account, nor by any means whatsoever, give assistance to those who interrupt the tranquillity of the Carnatic country. Contrary to all this, he has used his endeavours to create disturbances in the Carnatic, as you will fully understand by a letter received from Poonah, and an intelligence paper which I have inclosed for your perusal. It is mentioned in the Raja's agreement, that whenever his troops may be wanted, he will send them under the command of a Sardar, without demanding any thing for their expences, and will not recal them until my permission shall be had ; and that he will not have any connection with the Narwar and Nalcooty ; and that whatever countries and things he has taken from them, shall be restored again. Although the Circars and Company's troops were sent to the countries of Marwar and Nalcooty, repeated letters were wrote hence to the Raja to send assistance, but he did not give assistance with his troops. However, the Sardars of the Marwar and Nalcooty were either killed or taken prisoners. The Raja, contrary to his agreement, gave protection to the bad servants of those Polygars, who otherwise had no power to give disturbance ; and he assisted them with men, money, and ammunition. He also prevails upon other people to make disturbance in the Talkas, all which is well known to the officer commanding the Com-

pany's troops in those parts ; for which reason, the troubles there are not entirely over, the expence of the troops now there, is more than the income of that country, and which troops are still employed in the management of the new countries. If the Raja had not given assistance in that manner, the business of those countries had been settled long ago. It is entered in the agreement of the Raja, to give back what he received from the deserted Polygars of Worriar Pollam, and Arialose, and to deliver the said Polygars to the Circar, if in his custody, or in his country. Contrary to which agreement, he did not return what he received, but gave them places in Combaconum in the Tanjore country, where they remain seeking opportunities of giving trouble ; he encouraged the Colles of Tanjore to give trouble to the Trichinopoly country ; he pressed the cattle from the countries of Arialose and Worriar Pollam, and when the Circar's people find out those in the Tanjore country, he returns them in short numbers. Although he agreed to pay the money and grain of the Company through my means, he did not perform that engagement. He gives great trouble to the Pottah of Vellum, and prevents its prosperity. He gives such troubles to travellers, that they go from Trichinopoly to Vellum under great apprehensions, yet he is not satisfied. He assigned some Talkas of his countries to the Dutch and Danish, under the pretence of borrowing money of them, which is not proper either for your advantage or mine. Great part of the money which he engaged to pay last treaty, is still unpaid, which gives me great trouble to pay the creditors, and to pay the 310,000 rupees, the remainder of the Enaum to the army. On my part, I have not failed endeavouring to preserve a good understanding with the Raja, by sending him elephants, dresses, and even the rhinoceros which was presented to me by the Governor of Bengal, and by shewing every mark of attention to him ; yet when the Raja of Tanjore takes so many measures to give disturbance to the tranquillity of the Carnatic, it is also proper for you and me, who wish the prosperity of this country, to take proper measures to preserve it from troubles for the future.

You wrote me about keeping 3 battalions of Sepoys, agreeable to the orders of your masters. I wrote you my plain answer, that it was not in my power to undertake it. My friendship to the Company is such, that I never fail to use my utmost endeavour to perform their desire, but I cannot help it, when it is not in my power ; if by the providence of God,

and your assistance, the country and Fort of Tanjore be taken, and put into my possession, I will give you my agreement in writing, to keep three battalions from the beginning of the expedition. My only desire is, that those and the other seven be called the Nabob's battalions; but if any accident prevent the place and country from falling into my hands, I write you plainly, that as I shall not then be able to keep those three battalions, this may not be interpreted into any agreement to maintain them afterwards.

Although the taking the place will be attended with great expences to me, both for my troops, and those who give me assistance, Batta of the Company's troops, for ammunition and stores, Enawm to the army, the payment of 10 lacks of pagodas to the Company, on certain conditions in time of peace, which I wrote to the late Governor, 28th Jemaufani, or 18th September 1771; yet I will cheerfully pay it all to give security to the Company's possessions, and peace and tranquillity to my country.

You will observe, that in consideration of the Company's firm friendship, that I always wish for every opportunity to promote their prosperity. When I gave my consent for 10 lacks of pagodas, the late Governor wrote me in his letter of the 15th Jemaufani, or 25th September 1771, that he agreed to the conditions I proposed to him, and that he never makes any conditions with, or claims upon me. I know the Company do not make such demands; but out of friendship to them, and to shew my gratitude for their assistance, I myself agreed to make them a present of 10 lacks of pagodas for their advantage, which I will be at great pains to pay punctually in time of peace, as I know that such a sum of money will be very acceptable to them in these days. You are the defender of the tranquillity of this country, and my friend; therefore I have wrote you so fully. It is necessary not to lose the advantage of the present opportunity; shew me your friendship by settling this matter in writing, in the same manner as was done by your late president, and favour me with a speedy answer. If you delay taking this place, either the Marattas, Hyder, or the French, will lay hold of it; then it will not be in our power to retake it from them, and the Carnatic cannot be in peace, from the apprehensions of troubles. After I have received your answer to this letter, and such as the former Governor gave to me on the same

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subject,

subject, and before the army marches, it will be proper for us to settle some business relative to the army, which will be attended with convenience.

Letter from Governor Wynch to the Nabob, dated 7th July 1773.

To his Highness Nawab Waulajah Ummeiv-ul-Hind Orndiet-ul-Mulk Sieraage-ud-Dowlah Unwier-ud-Dean Khan Behawder Mansoor Jung Sepoy Sardar Soubabdar of the Carnatic Payengaut.

May it please your Highness,

I HAVE been honoured with the receipt of your Highness's letter of the 18th ultimo, on the subject of reducing the Raja of Tanjore; stating at large the grounds and necessity thereof, and your Highness's intentions towards the Company, on certain conditions therein expressed, in case of such his reduction.

It is always matter of great satisfaction to me, whenever it is in my power, consistent with the orders of my constituents, and the good of the service, to comply with any application from your Highness. As the object of your Highness's present application, therefore, the total reduction of Tanjore, appears to me on the present footing of affairs, clearly in the light it does to your Highness, essentially necessary for the safety and tranquillity of the Carnatic; and, as the orders of the Company to this Government, have at all times invariably purposed, that your Highness should be supported in your Government, and the peace and security of the Carnatic be maintained, I shall readily co-operate with your Highness in the present proposed undertaking; and for that purpose, on the part of your Highness's firm and true friends the Company, shall afford the necessary assistance for the accomplishment thereof. A large army accordingly will shortly be assembled at Trichinopoly, under the command of General Smith; and he has received the instructions of this Government, when assembled, and every thing is in complete readiness, to

proceed with the same, against the Fort of Tanjore, to reduce it; and having done so, to put your Highness's son, Madaur-ul-Mulk Bahawder, or any other person your Highness may authorise for that purpose, in possession thereof, together with the military stores and effects which may be found therein. In the course of the expedition also, whatever prisoners may be taken, shall be left at your Highness's disposal. I cannot too strongly, however, recommend and request of your Highness, that the utmost lenity and clemency may be observed towards them in general, and should this be the lot of Raja and his family, that not only the above treatment be shewn them, but that every other attention due to their quality and character (as the custom of nations, and your Highness's own honour shall require) be observed toward them. I have told your Highness, that General Smith has instructions to deliver to your son Madaur-ul-Mulk Bahawder, or any other person properly authorised for the purpose, the stores and effects which may be found in the Fort of Tanjore, on its reduction: I beg your Highness will understand me, I mean only if taken by capitulation; for if carried by storm, by the usage of war, the plunder therein becomes the right of the captors, over which plunder, (as my predecessor informed your Highness) I have no authority or controul whatever.

I come now to reply to that part of your Highness's letter, which respects your intentions towards the Company; in case Tanjore is taken, and certain conditions are complied with, your Highness says, that if through the blessing of the Almighty, and my assistance, the Fort and country of Tanjore are taken, and fall into your hands, you will write to me your consent for the keeping up of the three disputed battalions from the commencement of the expedition; your only desire herein being this, that as well those three as the other seven battalions may be known by your name. In the conferences which have passed between your Highness and the Select Committee, and your Highness and me, since the receipt of your letter, your Highness knows, that on the subject of these disputed battalions, (to term them in conformity to your Highness) it has been agreed, that the whole of the charge that has already been incurred on their account, down to the 30th *ultimo*, shall be paid by your Highness to the Company as a present; and from that period, the charge thereof to be carried to your Highness's account, in the same manner as the
other

other battalions, and discharged also in the same manner by monthly gifts.

With regard to your Highness's promissary present of ten lacks of pagodas to the Company, on the conditions mentioned in your letter of the 18th of September 1771, I beg leave to reply in the words of my predecessor, that I make no condition for, or claim of any thing. Whatever has been, or shall be expended by the Company, on your Highness's account, will of course be paid for by your Highness; and whatever your Highness, out of your good will and friendship, will be pleased to offer me, as a present for the Company, I shall willingly receive, and advise them thereof.

I have the honour to be, with profound respect,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's

most sincere, most obedient, and most humble servant,

Fort St. George,
July the 17th, 1773.

A. R. WYNCH.

[C O P Y.]

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to Governor Wynch, dated
21st September 1773, or the third Rajeb 1187, Tuesday.*

BY the providence of God, and by the assistance of my best friends, the town and Fort of Tanjore have fallen into my hands. After returning you many thanks, for the very active part you have taken in this transaction, and requesting the favour of you, to make my acknowledgements to the Gentlemen of the Council for their friendly assistance, I beg leave to submit the following reflections on the present state of the country to your consideration.

1st, You thought it sound policy to assist me with the Company's troops in the reduction of the Fort of Tanjore, for which I am much obliged to you. I am now to apply to my friends, that they will continue the army on foot, till the whole of that country be brought under my subjection. What is the Fort without the country? It is the annual revenues of that, which are to enable me to be an useful friend to the English Company. What was good policy in the one case, must be good policy in the other; therefore I hope you will not refuse me my request.

2d, You are well acquainted that the Dutch pretended they have bought some lands of the late Raja of that country. The same authority which the providence of God and your assistance have given me over the Fort of Tanjore, they have also given me over the whole country. The Raja was my tributary, therefore had no right to dispose of such countries without my consent, nor could the purchase be legal for the same reasons.

3d, I need not tell you that such an establishment of country, as to enable the Dutch to maintain a standing army on the coast, must be of very great prejudice to the interest of the English Company. It is clearly their interest to have no European power on the coast but themselves; whereas those countries might in time raise the Dutch to be a rival power, very much to the detriment both of your interest and mine.

Therefore every reason, both friendship for me and good policy for yourselves, makes me apply to you, to order the army to march towards these countries which the Dutch have by deceitful means got possession of, and obliging them to give them up to me who am their lawful master.

I do not want to take any advantage of the Dutch, but will cheerfully agree to let them enjoy such possessions as they had in the days of Per-
taub Sing, the late Raja's father, and that the same customs shall be performed; and it is not either your interest or mine that they shall have more.

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I have no inclination to go to war with the Dutch, as I know them to be your friends; but I shall be very ready to negotiate this business in a friendly and a peaceable manner: But as I have reason to suspect that their intentions are deceitful, and that they will make unjust and exorbitant demands, if we do not embrace vigorous measures; therefore I have desired that the army may march towards those countries. The admiral sees them in a proper light. He is convinced that my interest in this business, and the interest of the English nation and Company, are the same; therefore he has freely offered every assistance in his power, so soon as you shall have determined with me.

I am convinced it will only require vigorous resolutions to make them do me justice; and when his Majesty's ships, and the army, begin to appear in my favour, they will do me justice, and I shall always be ready to settle their business in an equitable manner, to your satisfaction.

With respect to the Fort of Tanjore, be so good to send your orders to Colonel Ross, to repair that breach which he has made, and to destroy works which he raised against the place as soon as possible.

Favour me with your answer soon, as time is precious, and as such business will be much more easily settled now than afterwards; we shall then talk on other business.

What can I say more?

Letter

Letter from Governor Wynch to the Nabob, dated the 25th September, 1773.

[COPY.]

To his Highness Nabob Waulau Jaw Ummur-ul-Hind Omdut ul-Mulk Seerage-ud-Dowlah Unwer-ud-Dean Khan, Bebauder, Munsoor Jung, Sepcy Sardar, Soubahdar of the Carnatic.

May it please your Highness,

I HAVE been honoured with the Receipt of your Highness's letter of the 21st instant, and beg leave to tender my sincere congratulations on the reduction of the Fort of Tanjore. Agreeable to your Highness's desire, General Smith shall be ordered to proceed immediately, with the troops under his command, towards the lands belonging to the country of Tanjore, which the Dutch have of late possessed themselves of; and on the requisition of your Highness's second son, Madaur-ul Mulk Bebauder, to assist him in the recovery of them. I cannot however, at the same time, too strongly recommend to your Highness, that before force be used, every consistent endeavour for the obtainment of these lands amicably should first be exerted; and that, for this purpose, (agreeable to what your Highness has repeatedly mentioned to me) the Dutch should be assured, on their peaceably and quickly giving up the lands to your Highness, the money they may have lent on, or paid for them, shall be justly repaid, and their antient privileges confirmed to them.

I have the honour to be with profound respect,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's

Most sincere,

Most obedient, and

Most humble Servant,

Fort St. George,
25th September, 1773.

A R. WYNCH,

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

AFTER the preceding sheets of the Appendix were printed, the following papers came to the Editor's hands. The letter from the Governor of Batavia is referred to, in page 31 of the *STATE of Facts relative to Tanjore*; and is an irrefragable proof of the dangerous intrigues of the displaced Zemindar. His own and his mother's letters to the Nabob, expressing their grateful sense of the humane treatment they have met with, from that prince, are alluded to, in page 35 of the State above-mentioned; and they sufficiently refute the calumnies propagated by the Nabob's enemies, to justify their own interested designs.

An account of the Nabob's expence, in the reduction of Tanjore, and the several articles of his disbursements and receipts before, at, and since that period, are fully expressed, in the paper which stands the last in the Appendix. The most of the articles are derived from the best authorities; such as depend upon supposition, are designedly made extremely low. The Editor hoped to have been able to give a fair state of the Nabob's expences, during the last war with the French, on the coast of Coromandel; but the difficulty of extracting the several articles, from the records of the Company, has, for the present, frustrated his design.

No. VII.

Extract from a Letter from the Governor General of Batavia, to the Nabob, dated 26th July 1771.

CONCERNING the assistance of warlike stores, given by those of Coromandel to the Raja of Tanjore, I shall demand account from Negapatnam. Mean while, serves to your Excellency's information, that the Netherlandish Company stands in alliance with that prince, and that the duty of faithful confederates requires to assist one another, in case of necessity.

No. VIII.

Translation of an Arzdasht from the Mother of the late Raja of Tanjore, received 19th Rajibb 1187 Hegira, or 7th October 1773.

ALTHOUGH your Highness has, from the beginning, shewed kindness to the Raja; yet, without the least forethought, he has given ear to the advice of some servants, and has failed to act conformably to your Highness's pleasure, and so has become guilty of a great fault; hence his affairs were thrown into confusion, and he now labours under the bad consequences. At length your Highness shewed favour to us, by sending a letter to Madaur ul Mulck Bahaudre, who explained the whole contents to us, word by word, wherein you were pleased to signify your kindness and regard in granting protection to us. I want words to express the sense of my gratitude. Be pleased to continue to us that friendship you was so good to shew us formerly. We shall rely henceforth on your Highness for support. I consign my son to your Highness; my honour is in your Highness's hands; grant us your protection.

*Translation of an Arzdasht from Tolagazee, received 19th Rajibb
1187 Hegira, or 7th October 1773.*

YOUR Highness has, from the beginning shewed kindness towards me, and on my part, as a means to encrease your favour, I was heartily disposed to act agreeably to your pleasure, but some of my servants, by many specious reasons to which I gave ear, prevailed upon me to act in a different manner, and so became guilty of a great fault, the consequences of which I now feel. Your Highness, in consideration of the friendship which subsisted between you and the deceased Maha Raja, has been pleased to pardon my fault, and to send a letter to Nabob Madaur ul Mulk Bahauder, the contents of which he explained to me word by word, in which letter you have been pleased to signify very particularly your intention to protect me at all events, which did me great honour. It is now my resolution to act in every respect conformably to your Highness's pleasure, that I may merit an encrease of favour from you day by day; your Highness is more dear to me in my esteem than the deceased Maha Raja was, for your Highness has manifested a greater degree of kindness for me than he ever did. When children are in fault, their parents should forgive them, and restore them to favour; my honour, and every thing that is dear to me are in your Highness's hands.

No.

No. IX.

TANJORE, D^r to the NABOB.

	Rupees.	Pagodas.
TO the Circar troops and to the Company's, ammunition, military stores, &c. Bullocks, Coolies, Bazar expences, &c. Suppose for the expedition 1771, - - -		6,00,000
Enaam to the army, paid, - - -	5,10,000	
Expences as above, from July 1773, to January 1774, when every thing was settled with the Dutch, suppose - - -		12,00,000
Prize money to the army, consisting of Circar and Company's troops, paid, - - -		8,00,000
Redemption money paid to the Dutch, - - -		5,50,000
Ditto paid to the Danes, - - -		50,000
Expence of negotiating with the Dutch and Danes in presents to their Governor and Council, and to their Ambassador to the Nabob, - - -		2,00,000
Debts of the Raja to English individuals, and generously paid by the Nabob, - - -		2,00,000
The Nabob's present to the Company by agreement, - - -		10,00,000
His Highness paid three additional battalions of Sepoys in the Company's service, from 1769: Agreed to maintain them ever after, which, at a lack of Rupees a-year per battalion to 1776, both inclusive, is, - - -	24,00,000	
Three additional battalions of cavalry for three years, 74, 75, and 76, at one lack of Pagodas, per regiment per ann. - - -		9,00,000
In 1771, two years peshcush was due from Tanjore to the Nabob, which, at four lack rupees per ann. to 1776, is seven years, - - -	28,00,000	
Expences of negotiating the two expeditions, is much under-rated at - - -		5,00,000
Extra presents to individuals who were useful to the Nabob, either in negotiating with others, or conducting the siege, is under-rated also at - - -		1,00,000
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Carried over	57,10,000	61,00,000

TANJORE, D^r.

	Rupees.	Pagodas.
Brought forward	57,10,000	61,00,000
To the Maharatta chiefs, and Hyder's, to prevent their interfering during the attack of Tanjore, suppose 20 lacks of rupees, - -	20,00,000	
Repairs of fortifications of Tanjore, three lacks pagodas, ditto of other fortified places, at two lacks in three years time very moderately computed,		5,00,000
Interest due on the peshcush from 1771, including rupees 1,12,500, allowed at that time at 30 per cent. according to the custom of the country without compound interest, which last is also the custom of the country, to - -	31,92,500	
Supposing the first expence to cost six lacks, and the expence of negotiating with Europeans and others, two lacks interest, at 30 per cent. for five years to 1776, without compound interest.		12,00,000
Supposing the expence of the expedition in 1773, with all its attendants, to have been 30 lacks of pagodas, interest for three years to 1776, without the compound interest, will come to the immense sum of - - -		27,00,000
	<hr/> 109,02,500	<hr/> 105,00,000
The rupees, 109,02,500, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per pagodas, - -	- -	<hr/> 31,15,000
		P. 136,15,000
The repair of tanks, banks, and water-courses; presents to Pagodas and Bramins; expence of the Civil Government, and maintenance of the Raja and family for three years, do not appear to be over-rated at - -		<hr/> 13,85,000
		P. 150,00,000

TANJORE, C.

	Rupees.	Pagodas.
Cash paid by Mess. Cafamajor and Pettie bond,		
November 1st 1771, - -		87,514 : 30
Ditto by Mr. H. - -		128,571 : 18
Ditto in 1772, paid -	4,00,000	
Agreed to be paid 1771, by the Raja to the Nabob, in cash, - R. 27,50,000		
To the army, - 5,00,000		
Interest in the Peshcush due, 1,12,500		
	33,62,500	
Remainder unpaid, 12th September 1773, by the Raja's letter to the Governor, -	12,65,088	
Received by the Nabob, -	20,97,412	
Revenue of Tanjore 1774, -	30,00,000	
Do. - 75, -	50,00,000	
Do - 76, -	50,00,000	
Interest at 30 per cent. for P. 216,085, Messrs. C. P. and H. - -		324,125
Four years interest on 4 L. R. -	4,80,000	
Three years on 20,97,412 -	18,97,669	
Two years on 30,00,000 -	18,00,000	
One year on 50,00,000 -	15,00,000	
	<hr/> R. 211,95,081	P. 540,210 : 30
R. 211,75,081 - -	-	60,50,023
		65,90,233 : 30
Balance due the Nabob, - -	-	84,09,766
Sterling, 3,363,906 l. 8 s. at eight shillings per pagoda.		P. 150,00,000

It appears from the preceding account, that the balance due to the Nabob, for disbursements on account of Tanjore, amounts to Sterling 3,363,906 l. 8 s. But, if the interest on both sides of the account is excluded, it reduces the sum to Sterling 2,243,000 l.

We must however observe, that there is no exaggeration in the account of interest; that the Nabob has really been obliged to pay even more than 30 per cent. and that accumulation of heavy interest is the true cause why the Nabob has not long since paid off his debt to the Company and to individuals †.

† The Company alone is injured by the oppression under which the Nabob labours, on account of exorbitant interest: For individuals have profited in the same proportion as the Nabob suffers. It is incumbent upon the Company, to protect the Nabob's right in point of policy as well as justice; for, if the Nabob is not secured in the possession of the country of Tanjore, he will certainly recover 2,243,000 l. Sterling from the Company; being the sum, exclusive of interest, which he has disbursed for Tanjore, under the sanction of their Governor and Council.

F I N I S.

